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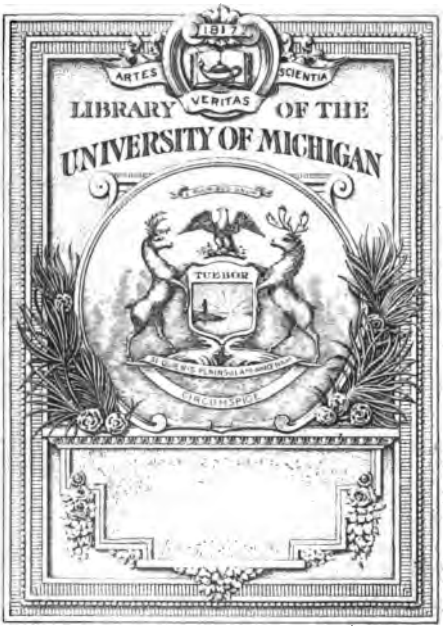
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THE WORKS OF SOAME JENYNS, Esq.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

INCLUDING SEVERAL PIECES NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

SHORT SKETCHES OF THE HISTORY OF THE AUTHOR'S FAMILY,

AND ALSO OF HIS LIFE;

BY CHARLES NALSON COLE, Esq.

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ON THE

IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN OF

ISAAC HAWKINS BROWNE, Esq.

DE

ANIMI IMMORTALITATE.

LIBER PRIMUS.

CÆTERA per terras animalia ſorte fruuntur
Quam ſua cuique dedit Natura; nec amplius optant.
Solus homo, qui ſcire ſagax, cui ſumma cupido
Scrutari cauſas et mutua fœdera rerum,
Vanum iter ingreditur; nigris namque imminet alis,
Et

* Iſaac Hawkins Browne, Eſq. the ſon of the Rev. Mr. Browne, vicar of Burton on Trent, was educated at Weſtminſter ſchool, from whence he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards ſettled in Lincoln's-Inn, where he engaged in the profeſſion of the law. In 1759 he publiſhed this Poem, *De Animi Immortalitate*, which was univerſally read, and as univerſally admired, not only for the choice and arrangement of the matter, but the purity of the language, which Lucretius himſelf would have acknowledged as a perfect copy of his ſtile. Struck with the arguments, the diſpoſition of thoſe arguments, and the beauty of the expreſſion, but above all with the bright contraſt to the obſcurity of the metaphyſical poets of the laſt century; Mr.

ON THE

IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN OF

ISAAC HAWKINS BROWNE, Esq.

BOOK I.

TO all inferior animals 'tis giv'n
T' enjoy the ſtate allotted them by Heav'n;
No vain reſearches e'er diſturb their reſt,
No fears of dark futurity moleſt.
Man, only man, ſolicitous to know
The ſprings whence Nature's operations flow,
Plods thro' a dreary waſte with toil and pain,
And reaſons, hopes, and thinks, and lives in vain;

For

Jenyns was the firſt who tranſlated it into Engliſh, and whoſe tranſlation, as it was firſt in time, was alſo firſt in propriety and elegance amongſt thoſe with which the public was afterwards favoured.

Mr. Browne's happy vein in poetry placed him amongſt

Et curſu in medio mors intercludit euntem.
Quorſum iſthoc, ſi nil ſapientia dia creârit
Incaſſum? Quorſum hæc divinæ ſemina mentis,
In proprios ſi non poterunt adoleſcere fructus?
Ecquid enim prodeſt rerum cognoſcere cauſas;
Jungere venturis præſentia; mente vagari
Solem atque aſtra ſuper, morituro? Scilicet omnes
Una manet Lethi lex et commune ſepulcrum.
Nonne ergo ſatius cum Phyllide ludere in umbra;
Teque, Lyæe pater, lætis celebrare choreis?
Novit enim Bacchus curas depellere, novit
Præteriti ſenſus abolere metumque futuri.

Quare age, vina liques: epulæ, convivia, luſus,
Pſallere docta Chloe, citharæque perita Neæra,
Non abſint; volucris rape lætus dona diei;
Quærere nec cures quid craſtina proferat hora.

---

the foremoſt of the art in his life-time, the juſtice of which preference poſterity will be enabled to determine, from a collection of his poems publiſhed in octavo, by his only ſon Iſaac Hawkins Browne, Eſq;—a mark of filial piety, one of the prominent features in his moſt reſpectable and amiable character. E.

For ſable Death ſtill hov'ring o'er his head,
Cuts ſhort his progreſs, with his vital thread.
Wherefore, ſince Nature errs not, do we find
Theſe ſeeds of Science in the human mind,
If no congenial fruits are predeſign'd?
For what avails to man this power to roam
Thro' ages paſt, and ages yet to come,
T' explore new worlds o'er all th' ætherial way,
Chain'd to a ſpot, and living but a day?
Since all muſt periſh in one common grave,
Nor can theſe long laborious ſearches ſave.
Were it not wiſer far, ſupinely laid,
To ſport with Phillis in the noontide ſhade?
Or at thy jovial feſtivals appear,
Great Bacchus, who alone the ſoul can clear,
From all that it has felt, and all that it can fear?

Come on then, let us feaſt: let Chloe ſing,
And ſoft Neæra touch the trembling ſtring;
Enjoy the preſent hour, nor ſeek to know
What good or ill to-morrow may beſtow.

Atqui pertæſum eſt harum citò delicíarum;
Scilicet, hæc ſatiat vix dum libata voluptas.
Ergo dimiſſis quæramus ſeria nugis.
Accumulentur opes; ducit quò gloria, quòve
Ambitio, ſtipatus eas examine denſo
Manè ſalutantum. Quid multa? Huc denique eòdem
Volveris, ut clames heu! quantum in rebus inane!

Quænam igitur tentanda via eſt? Ubi littus amicum?
Nempe vides ut ſemper avet, dum corpore clauſa eſt,
Mens alia ex aliis ſcire, ac ſine fine gradatim
Æternum (ſic fert natura) attingere verum.

Gaudia quinetiam non hæc fugientia poſcit,
At magis apta ſibi, vicibuſque obnoxia nullis;
Gaudia perpetuum non interitura per ævum.

But theſe delights ſoon pall upon the taſte;
Let's try then if more ſerious cannot laſt:
Wealth let us heap on wealth, or fame purſue,
Let pow'r and glory be our points in view;
In courts, in camps, in ſenates let us live,
Our levees crowded like the buzzing hive:
Each weak attempt the ſame ſad leſſon brings!
Alas what vanity in human things!

What means then ſhall we try? where hope to find
A friendly harbour for the reſtleſs mind?
Who ſtill, you ſee, impatient to obtain
Knowledge immenſe, (ſo Nature's laws ordain)
Ev'n now, tho' fetter'd in corporeal clay,
Climbs ſtep by ſtep the proſpect to ſurvey,
And ſeeks, unwearied, Truth's eternal ray.

No fleeting joys ſhe aſks, which muſt depend
On the frail ſenſes, and with them muſt end;
But ſuch as ſuit her own immortal fame,
Free from all change eternally the ſame.

Quare ſume animum ; neque enim ſapientia dia
Fruſtra operam impendit ; neque mens arctabitur iſtis
Limitibus quibus hoc periturum corpus ; at exſors
Terrenæ labis viget, æternùmque vigebit :
Atque ubi corporeis emiſſa, ut carcere, vinclis,
Libera cognatum repetet, vetus incola, cœlum,
Nectareos latices veri de fonte perenni
Hauriet, ætheriumque perennis carpet amomum.

At verò dum vita manet (ſi vita vocanda eſt
Corporis hæc cæco concluſa putamine) torpet
Vivida vis animi, nec ovantes explicat alas.
Multa tamen veteris retinet veſtigia ſtirpis.
Unde etenim tot res reminiſcitur ? Unde tot apto
Ordine diſponit, mox et depromit in uſus ?
Quippe haud tam locuples hæc, tamque immenſa ſupellex
Corporis in cellis poterit ſtipata teneri ;
Aut vi corporea revocari in luminis oras.

Illa etiam inventrix, varias quæ protulit artes,
Suppeditans vitæ decus et tutamen egenæ ;

Nomina

Take courage then, theſe joys we ſhall attain;
Almighty wiſdom never acts in vain;
Nor ſhall the ſoul on which it has beſtow'd
Such pow'rs e'er periſh like an earthly clod;
But purg'd at length from foul corruption's ſtain,
Freed from her priſon and unbound her chain,
She ſhall her native ſtrength, and native ſkies regain:
To heav'n an old inhabitant return,
And draw nectareous ſtreams from truth's perpetual urn.

Whilſt life remains, (if life it can be call'd
T' exiſt in fleſhly bondage thus enthrall'd)
Tir'd with the dull purſuit of worldly things,
The ſoul ſcarce wakes, or opes her gladſome wings,
Yet ſtill the godlike exile in diſgrace
Retains ſome marks of her celeſtial race;
Elſe whence from mem'ry's ſtore can ſhe produce
Such various thoughts, or range them ſo for uſe?
Can matter theſe contain, diſpoſe, apply?
Can in her cells ſuch mighty treaſures lie?
Or can her native force produce them to the eye?

Whence is this pow'r, this foundreſs of all arts,
Serving, adorning life, thro' all its parts,

Which —

Nomina quæ impoſuit rebus, vocemque ligavit
Literulis; aut quæ degentes more ferarum,
Diſperſoſque homines deduxit in oppida; quæve
Legibus edomuit, fœduſque coegit in unum;
Quænam iſthæc niſi vis divinior, ætheriuſque
Senſus, et afflatu cœleſti concita virtus?

Jam quorum undanti eloquium fluit amne, rapitque
Quò velit affectus, tonitruque et fulgura miſcet;
Divitias trahit unde ſuas? Vigor igneus ille
Num mortale ſonat? Quid cenſes carmina vatum?
Sive etenim flexu numerorum vique canora,
Oblectet varia dulcedine lapſus ad aures;
Seu, ſpecioſa canens rerum miracula, fictis
Ludat imaginibus, peragretque per intima cordis;
Nil parvum ſpirat, nil non ſublime Poeta.
Cumque ſuper terris quæ fiunt, quæque tuemur
Omnia, curriculo volventia ſemper eodem,
Non explent animum, varia et magis ampla petentem;
* Sanctus adeſt vates, per quem ſublimior ordo,

Pulcrior

* Si quis rem acutius introſpiciat, firmum ex Porsi ſumitur argumentum, magnitudinem rerum magis illuſtrem, ordinem magis perfectum, et varietatem magis pulchram animæ humanæ complacere, quam in natura ipſa, poſt lapſum

Which names impos'd, by letters mark'd thoſe names,
Adjuſted properly by legal claims,
From woods and wilds collected rude mankind,
And cities, laws, and governments deſign'd?
What can this be, but ſome bright ray from heav'n,
Some emanation from Omniſcience giv'n?

When now the rapid ſtream of eloquence
Bears all before it, paſſion, reaſon, ſenſe,
Can its dread thunder, or its lightning's force
Derive their eſſence from a mortal ſource?
What think you of the bard's enchanting art,
Which, whether he attempts to warm the heart
With fabled ſcenes, or charm the ear with rhyme,
Breathes all pathetic, lovely, and ſublime?
Whilſt things on earth roll round from age to age,
The ſame dull farce repeated on the ſtage;
The poet gives us a creation new,
More pleaſing and more perfect than the true;

---

lapſum reperire ullo modo poſſit. Quapropter, cum res geſtæ, et eventus, qui veræ hiſtoriæ ſubjiciuntur, non ſint ejus amplitudinis, in qua anima humana ſibi ſatisfaciat, Præſto eſt POESIS quæ facta magis Heroica confingat.—Bacon de Augmentis Scientiarum, Lib. II. E.

The

Pulcrior et ſpecies, et mentis idonea votis
Exoritur, vitæ ſpes auguriumque futuræ.

Quid, qui cœleſtes nôrunt deſcribere motus;
Sidera, qua circa ſolem, qua lege cometæ
Immenſum per inane rotentur, ut æthere vaſto
Aſtra alia illuſtrent alios immota planetas;
Nonne hanc credideris mentem, quæ nunc quoq; cœlum
Aſtraque pervolitat, delapſam cœlitus, illuc
Unde abiit remeare, ſuaſque reviſere ſedes?

Quî tandèm hæc fierent niſi quædam in mente ſubeſſet
Vis ſua, materiæ mixtura immunis ab omni?
Conſcia porrò ſibi eſt, vult, nonvult, odit, amatque,
Et timet, et ſperat; gaudet, mœretque ſua vi
Ipſa; miniſterio neque corporis indiget ullo:
Viribus ipſa ſuis inter ſe comparat, et res
Sejungit rebus; vaga diſſociataque veri
Membra minutatim legit, ac concimat amicè.

The mind, who always to perfection haſtes,
Perfection, ſuch as here ſhe never taſtes,
With gratitude accepts the kind deceit,
And thence foreſees a ſyſtem more compleat.

Of thoſe what think you, who the circling race
Of ſuns, and their revolving planets trace,
And comets journeying thro' unbounded ſpace?
Say, can you doubt, but that th' all-ſearching ſoul,
That now can traverſe heav'n from pole to pole,
From thence deſcending viſits but this earth,
And ſhall once more regain the regions of her birth?

Cou'd ſhe thus act, unleſs ſome power unknown,
From matter quite diſtinct and all her own,
Supported and impell'd her? She approves
Self-conſcious, and condemns; ſhe hates and loves,
Mourns, and rejoices, hopes, and is afraid,
Without the body's unrequeſted aid:
Her own internal ſtrength her reaſon guides,
By this ſhe now compares things, now divides,
Truth's ſcatter'd fragments piece by piece collects,
Rejoins, and thence her edifice erects;

Piles

Elicit hinc rerum cauſas, atque artibus artes
Hinc alias aliis ſuper extruit ordine pulcro;
Et magis atque magis ſumma ad faſtigia tendit
Unde omnis ſeries cauſarum apparet, et omnis
Numinis à ſolio ad terram demiſſa catena.
Denique et in ſeſe deſcendit, et aſpicit intus
Rerum ideas, quo quæque modo naſcantur; et unde
Cogitet, ac prope jam ſua quæ ſit fabrica novit.
Tantane corporea eſt virtus? An machina vires
Percipit ulla ſuas, aut quid ſibi præbeat eſcam?
Omne etenim corpus nihil eſt niſi machina, motu
Impulſa externo, non interiore ſuoque.

Vulgii gitur ſtudiis noli altæ mentis acumen
Metiri; aſt illos, etiam nunc laude recentes,
Contemplare viros tellus quos Attica, vel quos
Roma, nec alterutri cedens tulit Anglia, nutrix
Heroum, dum tempus erat, melioribus annis.

Piles arts on arts, effects to cauſes ties,
And rears th' aſpiring fabric to the ſkies:
From whence, as on a diſtant plain below,
She ſees from cauſes conſequences flow,
And the whole chain diſtinctly comprehends,
Which from the Almighty's throne to earth deſcends:
And laſtly, turning inwardly her eyes,
Perceives how all her own ideas riſe,
Contemplates what ſhe is, and whence ſhe came,
And almoſt comprehends her own amazing frame.
Can mere machines be with ſuch pow'rs endu'd,
Or conſcious of thoſe pow'rs ſuppoſe they cou'd?
For body is but a machine alone
Mov'd by external force, and impulſe not its own.

Rate not th' extenſion of the human mind
By the plebeian ſtandard of mankind,
But by the ſize of thoſe gigantic few,
Whom Greece and Rome ſtill offer to our view;
Or Britain, well-deſerving equal praiſe,
Parent of heroes too in better days.

Why

Quid tibi tot memorem divino pectore vates,
Totve repertores legum, famive potentes?
Quid, per quos venit ſpectanda ſcientia; dudùm
Informi coperta ſitu, lucemque peroſa?
Ante alios verò Baconus, ut ætherius ſol,
Effulgens, artes aditum patefecit ad omnes.
Hic à figmentis ſophiam revocavit ineptis
Primus; quàque regit fida experientia greſſus,
Securum per iter, Newtono ſcilicet idem
Deſignatque viam, et præcurſor lampada tradit.

Illuſtres animæ! Si quid mortalia tangunt
Cœlicolas, ſi gentis adhuc cura ulla Britannæ;
Vos precor, antiquum vos inſtaurate vigorem;
Ut tandem excuſſo nitamur ad ardua ſomno,
Virtutis veræ memores, et laudis avitæ.

Nempe horum egregias reor haud ſine numine dotes

Why ſhou'd I try her num'rous ſons to name
By verſe, law, eloquence, conſign'd to fame?
Or who have forc'd fair Science into ſight
Long loſt in darkneſs, and afraid of light.
O'er all ſuperior, like the ſolar ray,
Firſt Bacon uſher'd in the dawning day,
And drove the miſts of ſophiſtry away;
Pervaded nature with amazing force,
Following experience ſtill throughout his courſe,
And finiſhing at length his deſtin'd way,
To Newton he bequeath'd the radiant lamp of day.

Illuſtrious ſouls! if any tender cares
Affect angelic breaſts for man's affairs,
If in your preſent happy heav'nly ſtate,
You're not regardleſs quite of Britain's fate,
Let this degenerate land again be bleſt
With that true vigour which ſhe once poſſeſt;
Compel us to unfold our ſlumb'ring eyes,
And to our ancient dignity to riſe.

Such wond'rous pow'rs as theſe muſt ſure be giv'n
For moſt important purpoſes by Heav'n;

Enaſci potuiſſe; Deum quin tempore in omni
Conſperſiſſe, velut ſtellas, hinc inde locorum
Splendidiora animi quaſi quædam lumina; ut iſtis
Accenſa exemplis ſe degener efferat ætas,
Agnoſcatque ſuî quàm ſit ſublimis origo.

Præterea eſſe aliquid verè quod pertinet ad nos,
Morte obita, nemo ſecum non concipit; intus,
Monſtratum eſt intus; teſtatur docta vetuſtas;
Publica vox clamat; neque gens tam barbara quæ non
Proſpiciat trans funus, et ulteriora requirat.

Hinc ſeritur, tardè creſcens, et poſthuma merces,
Quercus, natorum natis quæ proſit: et ingens
Pyramidum moles ſtat inexpugnabilis annis.

Hinc cura illa omnis vivendi extendere metas,
Nomine victuro; tanti eſt hinc fama ſuperſtes,
Ingenio ut quiſquis præcellit, nulla recuſet
Ille ſubire pericla, nec ullos ferre labores,
Si modo venturi ſpeciem ſibi vendicet ævi,
Gloriaque ad ſeros veniat manſura nepotes.

Who bids theſe ſtars as bright examples ſhine,
Beſprinkled thinly by the hand divine,
To form to virtue each degenerate time,
And point out to the ſoul its origin ſublime.

That there's a ſelf which after death ſhall live,
All are concern'd about, and all believe;
That ſomething's ours, when we from life depart,
This all conceive, all feel it at the heart;
The wiſe of learn'd antiquity proclaim
This truth, the public voice declares the ſame;
No land ſo rude but looks beyond the tomb
For future proſpects in a world to come.

Hence, without hopes to be in life repaid,
We plant ſlow oaks poſterity to ſhade;
And hence vaſt pyramids, aſpiring high,
Lift their proud heads aloft, and time defy.

Hence is our love of fame, a love ſo ſtrong,
We think no dangers great, or labours long,
By which we hope our beings to extend,
And to remoteſt times in glory to deſcend.

Nonne videmus uti convictus criminis, ipſo
Limine ſub mortis, culpam tamen abneget omnem;
Mendax, ut ſibi conſtet honos atque integra fama?
Nempe animis hæc inſevit natura futuri
Indicia obſcuraſque notas; hinc ſolicita eſt mens,
De ſe poſteritas quid ſentiat; at nihil ad nos
Poſtera vox, erimus ſi nil niſi pulvis et umbra;
Sera venit, cineres nec tangit fama quietos.

Quid porrò exequiæ voluere? Quid anxia cura
Defunctis ſuper, et moles operoſa ſepulcri?
Pars etenim terræ mandant exſangue cadaver,
Et tumulo ſerta imponunt, et ſacra quotannis
Perſolvunt; tanquam poſcant ea munera manes:
Extructa pars ritè pyra, cremat inſuper artus,
Colligit et cineres, fidaque reponit in urna;

For fame the wretch beneath the gallows lies,
Diſowning ev'ry crime for which he dies;
Of life profuſe, tenacious of a name,
Fearleſs of death, and yet afraid of ſhame.
Nature has wove into the human mind
This anxious care for names we leave behind,
T' extend our narrow views beyond the tomb,
And give an earneſt of a life to come:
For if when dead we are but duſt or clay,
Why think of what poſterity ſhall ſay?
Her praiſe or cenſure cannot us concern,
Nor ever penetrate the ſilent urn.

What mean the nodding plumes, the fun'ral train,
And marble monument that ſpeaks in vain,
With all thoſe cares which ev'ry nation pays
To their unfeeling dead in different ways?
Some in the flower-ſtrewn grave the corpſe have laid,
And annual obſequies around it paid,
As if to pleaſe the poor departed ſhade;
Others on blazing piles the body burn,
And ſtore their aſhes in the faithful urn;

Ut ſic relliquiæ durando ſæcula vincant.

Quid memorem fluctu quos divite Nilus inundans
Irrigat? His patrius mos non exurere flamma,
Non inhumare ſolo; ſed nudant corpora primùm
Viſceribus, terguntque; dehinc vim thuris odoram
Et picis infundunt, lentoque bitumine complent:
His demùm exactis, vittarum tegmine multo
Conſtringunt, pars ut ſibi quæque cohæreat aptè;
Picta ſuperficiem decorat viventis imago.
Uſque adeò ingenita eſt ſpes, et fiducia cuique
Conſignata, fore ut membris jam morte ſolutis
Reſtet adhuc noſtri melior pars; quam neque fati
Vis perimet, nec edax poterit delere vetuſtas.

Aſpice quas Ganges interluit Indicus oras:
Illic gens hominum medios ſe mittit in ignes,
Impatiens vitæ; vel ad ipſa altaria divûm
Sponte animam reddit, percuſſa cupidine cæca
Migrandi, ſedes ubi fata dedêre quietas;
Ver ubi perpetuum, et ſoles ſine nube ſereni.

Nec

But all in one great principle agree,
To give a fancy'd immortality.

Why ſhou'd I mention thoſe, whoſe ouzy ſoil
Is render'd fertile by th' o'erflowing Nile,
Their dead they bury not, nor burn with fires,
No graves they dig, erect no fun'ral pyres;
But waſhing firſt th' embowel'd body clean,
Gums, ſpice, and melted pitch they pour within;
Then with ſtrong fillets bind it round and round,
To make each flaccid part compact and ſound;
And laſtly paint the varniſh'd ſurface o'er
With the ſame features which in life it wore:
So ſtrong their preſage of a future ſtate,
And that our nobler part ſurvives the body's fate.

Nations behold, remote from reaſon's beams,
Where Indian Ganges rolls his ſandy ſtreams,
Of life impatient ruſh into the fire,
And willing victims to their gods expire!
Perſuaded the loos'd ſoul to regions flies,
Bleſt with eternal ſpring and cloudleſs ſkies.

Nec minûs uxores famâ celebrantur Eoæ :
Non illæ lacrymis, non fœmineo ululatu
Fata virûm plorant ; verùm (mirabile dictu!)
Conſcenduntque rogum, flammaque vorantur eâdem.
Nimirùm credunt veterum ſic poſſe maritûm
Ire ipſas comites, tædamque novare ſub umbris.

Aſpice quà Boreas æternaque frigora ſpirant,
Invictas bello gentes : par omnibus ardor ;
Par lucis contemptus agit per tela, per ignes,
Indomita virtute feros : hoc concitat œſtrum,
Hos verſat ſtimulos, ecquid niſi dulcis imago
Promiſſæ in patriam meritis per ſæcula vitæ ?

Adde iſthuc quæ de campis narrantur amœnis
Elyſii, Stygioque lacu, Phlegethontis et unda.

Fraude ſacerdotum ſint hæc confiƈta ; quid ad rem ?
Non fraudi locus ullus enim niſi primitùs eſſet

Nor is leſs fam'd the oriental wife
For ſtedfaſt virtue, and contempt of life:
Theſe heroines mourn not with loud female cries
Their huſbands loſt, or with o'erflowing eyes;
But, ſtrange to tell! their funeral piles aſcend,
And in the ſame ſad flames their ſorrows end;
In hopes with them beneath the ſhades to rove,
And there renew their interrupted love.

In climes where Boreas breathes eternal cold,
See num'rous nations, warlike, fierce, and bold,
To battle all unanimouſly run,
Nor fire, nor ſword, nor inſtant death they ſhun:
Whence this diſdain of life in ev'ry breaſt,
But from a notion on their minds impreſt,
That all who for their country die are bleſt?
Add too to theſe the once-prevailing dreams,
Of ſweet Elyſian groves, and Stygian ſtreams:
All ſhew with what conſent mankind agree
In the firm hope of immortality.

Grant theſe th' inventions of the crafty prieſt,
Yet ſuch inventions never cou'd ſubſiſt,

Unleſs

Inſita notities, licèt imperfecta, futuri:
Subſtratum agnoſcunt etenim ficta omnia verum.

At quia difficile eſt mentem ſine corpore quid ſit
Per ſe concipere, et craſſo ſejungere ſenſu,
Corporeas illi tribuit plebecula formas;
Dat ſimiles vultus, dat membra ſimillima veris,
Et certis habitare locis dat corporis inſtar.
Unde alii, quibus hæc prava et delira videntur,
Nec conſtat quo more animus poſt fata ſuperſit,
Extingui omnino communi funere cenſent.
Vel quia diſcendi nequeunt perferre laborem;
Vel quia turpe putant quidvis neſcire fateri.
Namque opus haud tenue eſt ſincerum excernere ficto.
Diſcute ſegnitiem idcirco, neque reſpue verum,
Fabellas propter quas interſperſit iniquus
Sive dolus, ſeu vana ſuât petulantia vatûm.

Quid, nonne eſſe Deum conſenſus comprobat omnis,
Conſenſus, qui vox Naturæ ritè putatur?
At quàm falſa homines, indignaque numine fingunt!

Unleſs ſome glimm'rings of a future ſtate
Were with the mind coæval, and innate:
For ev'ry fiction, which can long perſuade,
In truth muſt have its firſt foundations laid.

Becauſe we are unable to conceive,
How unembody'd ſouls can act, and live,
The vulgar give them forms, and limbs, and faces,
And habitations in peculiar places;
Hence reas'ners more refin'd, but not more wiſe,
Struck with the glare of ſuch abſurdities,
Their whole exiſtence fabulous ſuſpect,
And truth and falſehood in a lump reject;
Too indolent to learn what may be known,
Or elſe too proud that ignorance to own.
For hard's the taſk the daubing to pervade
Folly and fraud on Truth's fair form have laid;
Yet let that taſk be ours; for great the prize:
Nor let us Truth's celeſtial charms deſpiſe,
Becauſe that prieſts or poets may diſguiſe.

That there's a God from Nature's voice is clear,
And yet what errors to this truth adhere!

How

Quippe humana deo tribuunt, numerumque deorum
Multiplicant, juxta ac ſpes erigit aut metus angit
Inſtabiles animos ; quid enim ? quæ profore credunt
Hæc divos ſibi præſentes, at numina læva
Quæ metuêre putant ; valuitque inſania tantùm,
Beſtiolas ut deformes pro numine, et ipſum
Cæpe etiam et porrum, coleret lymphata vetuſtas.

Hæc igitur reputans ſophiæ dux Atticus ille
Affore prædixit perfecto temporis orbe,
* *Attulit et nobis aliquando optantibus ætas*
Auxilium adventumque Dei ; qui, ſolis ut ortus,
Diſcuteret tenebras animi, et per cæca viarum
Duceret, ipſe regens certo veſtigia filo.

Interea multis licuit dignoſcere ſignis
Natura monſtrante, velut per nubila, verum.
Ergo age qua ducit nos conjectura ſequamur,
Nec ſpernamus opem ſi quam Ratio ipſa miniſtrat.

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* Virg. Æn. viii. 200.

Haud

How have the fears and follies of mankind
Now multiply'd their gods, and now ſubjoin'd
To each the frailties of the human mind!
Nay, ſuperſtition ſpread at length ſo wide,
Beaſts, birds, and onions too were deify'd.

Th' Athenian ſage, revolving in his mind
This weakneſs, blindneſs, madneſs of mankind,
Foretold, that in maturer days, tho' late,
When time ſhould ripen the decrees of fate,
Some God would light us, like the riſing day,
Thro' error's maze, and chaſe theſe clouds away,
Long ſince has time fulfill'd this great decree,
And brought us aid from this Divinity.

Well worth our ſearch diſcoveries may be made
By Nature, void of this celeſtial aid:
Let's try what her conjectures then can reach,
Nor ſcorn plain Reaſon, when ſhe deigns to teach.

Haud equidem inficior mentem cum corpore multis
Conſentire modis ; lex mutua fœderis illa eſt :
Aſt eadem in multis diſpar ſe diſparis eſſe
Naturæ probat ac divina ſtirpe profectam.

Sæpe videmus uti ſolido ſtant robore vires
Corporeæ, cum mens obtuſior ; invalidoque
Corpore ineſt virtus perſæpe acerrima mentis.
Quinetiam interitu ſi corporis intereat mens,
Conſimili pacto par eſt ægrotet ut ægro
Corpore, quod fieri contrà quoque ſæpe videmus.
Namque ubi torpeſcunt artus jam morte propinqua
Acrior eſt acies tum mentis, et entheus ardor ;
Tempore non alio facundia ſuavior, atque
Fatidicæ jam tum voces morientis ab ore.

Corporeis porrò ſi conſtat mens elementis,
Quî fit ut in ſomnis, cum clauſa foramina ſenſûs,
Nec ſpecies externa manet quæ pabula menti
Sufficiat, magis illa vigens, tum denique veras
Expromat vires, tum ſe plaudentibus alis

That mind and body often ſympathize
Is plain; ſuch is this union nature ties:
But then as often too they diſagree,
Which proves the ſoul's ſuperior progeny.
Sometimes the body in full ſtrength we find,
Whilſt various ails debilitate the mind;
At others, whilſt the mind its force retains,
The body ſinks with ſickneſs and with pains:
Now did one common fate their beings end,
Alike they'd ſicken, and alike they'd mend.
But ſure experience, on the ſlighteſt view,
Shews us, that the reverſe of this is true;
For when the body oft expiring lies,
Its limbs quite ſenſeleſs, and half clos'd its eyes,
The mind new force and eloquence acquires,
And with prophetic voice the dying lips inſpires.

Of like materials were they both compos'd,
How comes it, that the mind, when ſleep has clos'd
Each avenue of ſenſe, expatiates wide,
Her liberty reſtor'd, her bonds unty'd?

And

Tollat, avi ſimilis, cavea quæ fortè recluſa
Fertur ad alta volans, cœloque exultat aperto.

Jam ſi corporea eſt animi natura, neceſſe eſt
Partibus hæc eadem conflata ſit infinitis;
Ergo et ſenſus erit cuique, et ſua cuique libido
Particulæ, totidemque animi in diverſa trahentes.
Has inter turbas atque in certamine tanto
Dic, quo more queat verum conſiſtere et æquum;
Et vitæ tenor unus, et hæc ſibi conſcia virtus.

Materiæ ſed fortè ſitu certaque figura
Vis animi conſit;——tanquam quadrata rotundis
Plus ſaperent;——partes ſeu demis an addis, eòdem
Res redit, ac quali fuerint corpuſcula forma,——
Tantundem ad mentem eſt, color ac ſiet albus an ater.

At quodam ex motu fit vis quæ cogitat omnis:
Quid non conficiat motus? Nempe ipſa voluntas,
Diſcurſus, ratio, rerumque ſcientia conſtant

And like ſome bird who from its priſon flies,
Claps her exulting wings, and mounts the ſkies.

Grant that corporeal is the human mind,
It muſt have parts *in infinitum* join'd;
And each of theſe muſt will, perceive, deſign,
And draw confus'dly in a different line;
Which then can claim dominion o'er the reſt,
Or ſtamp the ruling paſſion in the breaſt?

Perhaps the mind is form'd by various arts
Of modelling and figuring theſe parts;
Juſt as if circles wiſer were than ſquares;
But ſurely common ſenſe aloud declares
That ſite and figure are as foreign quite
From mental pow'rs, as colours black or white.

Allow that motion is the cauſe of thought,
With what ſtrange pow'rs muſt motion then be fraught?
Reaſon, ſenſe, ſcience, muſt derive their ſource
From the wheel's rapid whirl, or pully's force;

Vectibus ac trochleis; pueri, credo, actus habena
Concipit ingenium, ſapit et ſub verbere turbo:
Nec non lege pari, liquor ut calefactus aheno eſt,
Eloquii tumet atque exundat divite vena.
Unde autem exoritur motus? Mens ſcilicet una,
Mens, non corpus iners fons eſt et origo movendi:
Utque Deus mundum, ſic molem corporis omnem,
Arbitrio nutuque ſuo, mens dirigit intus.

Deſine quapropter mirari quomodo poſſit
Vivere mens omni detracto corpore, miror
Hoc potiùs qua vi poterit labefacta perire:
Utpote quæ nullis conſiſtat partibus, ac non
Divelli queat externo violabilis ictu:
Tum porrò ipſa ſuî motrix eſt, non aliundè
Inſtincta; at quodcunque ſua virtute movet ſe,
Vivet in æternum, quia ſe non deſeret unquam.

Verùm haud conceptu facile eſt exiſtere quidvis
Poſſe quidem, formam ſi dempſeris et poſituram.
Quidnam igitur cenſes de Numine? Nam neque formam

Mens

Tops whip'd by ſchool-boys ſages muſt commence,
Their hoops, like them, be cudgel'd into ſenſe,
And boiling pots o'erflow with eloquence.
Whence can this very motion take its birth?
Not ſure from matter, from dull clods of earth;
But from a living ſpirit lodg'd within,
Which governs all the bodily machine:
Juſt as th' Almighty Univerſal Soul
Informs, directs, and animates the whole.

Ceaſe then to wonder how th' immortal mind
Can live, when from the body quite disjoin'd;
But rather wonder if ſhe e'er cou'd die,
So fram'd, ſo faſhion'd for eternity;
Self-mov'd, not form'd of parts together ty'd,
Which time can diſſipate, and force divide;
For beings of this make can never die,
Whoſe pow'rs within themſelves, and their own eſſence lie:

If to conceive how any thing can be
From ſhape extracted and locality
Is hard; what think you of the Deity;

Mens (quà ſcire licet) recipit divina, nec ullo
Circumſcripta loco eſt, niſi forte putaveris ipſum
Materiam eſſe Deum ; ſin vero Spiritus Idem,
Integer et, puruſque, et fæce remotus ab omni
Corporis, humana pariter de mente putandum :
Ecquid enim per ſe pollet magis, aut magis hauſtus
Indicat ætherios, genus et divinitùs ortum ?
Atque adeo dum corporei ſtant fœdera nexûs,
Exit ſæpe foras tamen, effugioque parat ſe ;
Ac veluti terrarum hoſpes, non incola, ſurſum
Fertur, et ad patrios geſtit remeare penates.

I nunc, uſuram vitæ mirare caducam ;
Sedulus huc illuc, ut muſca, nitentibus alis
Parvolita, rorem deliba, veſcere et aura
Pauliſper, mox in nihilum rediturus et exſpes.
Hæccine vitai ſumma eſt ? Sic irrita vota ?
Huc promiſſa cadunt ? En quantò verius illa,
Illa eſt vita hominis, dabitur cum cernere verum,

Non,

His Being not the leaſt relation bears,
As far as to the human mind appears,
To ſhape, or ſize, ſimilitude, or place,
Cloath'd in no form, and bounded by no ſpace.
Such then is God, a ſpirit pure refin'd
From all material droſs, and ſuch the human mind.
For in what part of eſſence can we ſee
More certain marks of immortality?
Ev'n from this dark confinement with delight
She looks abroad, and prunes herſelf for flight;
Like an unwilling inmate longs to roam
From this dull earth, and ſeek her native home.

Go then forgetful of its toil and ſtrife,
Purſue the joys of this fallacious life;
Like ſome poor fly, who lives but for a day,
Sip the freſh dews, and in the ſunſhine play,
And into nothing then diſſolve away.
Are theſe our great purſuits, is this to live?
Theſe all the hopes this much-lov'd world can give!
How much more worthy envy is their fate,
Who ſearch for truth in a ſuperior ſtate?

Non, ut nunc facimus, ſenſim, longaſque coacti
Ire per ambages meditando, at protinùs uno
Intuitu, nebulaque omni jam rebus adempta.

At ne ſcire quidem poterit mens, forte reponas,
Senſibus extinctis; hoc fonte ſcientia manat;
Hoc alitur creſcitque; hoc deficiente, peribit.

Quid verò infirmis cum ſenſibus arte miniſtra,
Suppeditet vires ſua quas Natura negavit?
Arte oculis oculos mens addidit, auribus aures.

Hinc ſeſe in vita ſupra ſortemque ſitumque
Evehit humanum; nunc cœlo devocat aſtra,
Intima nunc terræ reſerat penetralia victrix;
Quæque oculos fugiunt, tenuiſſima corpora promit
In lucem, panditque novi miracula mundi.

Quid porro errores ſenſûs cum corrigit, et cum
Formamque et molem mens intervallaque rerum
Judice ſe, contra ſenſûs ſuffragia cernit?

Not groping ſtep by ſtep, as we purſue,
And following reaſon's much entangled clue,
But with one great, and inſtantaneous view.

But how can ſenſe remain, perhaps you'll ſay,
Corporeal organs if we take away!
Since it from them proceeds, and with them muſt decay.

Why not? or why may not the ſoul receive
New organs, ſince ev'n art can theſe retrieve?
The ſilver trumpet aids th' obſtructed ear,
And optic glaſſes the dim eye can clear;
Theſe in mankind new faculties create,
And lift him far above his native ſtate;
Call down revolving planets from the ſky,
Earth's ſecret treaſures open to his eye,
The whole minute creation make his own,
With all the wonders of a world unknown.

How cou'd the mind, did ſhe alone depend
On ſenſe, the errors of thoſe ſenſes mend?

Nonne hæc ſejunctam ſenſu vim ſigna fatentur,
Sétien et ætherium? Quare hac compage ſoluta,
Credibile eſt animum, qui nunc præludia tentat,
Excurſuſque breves, tum demùm poſſe volatu
Liberiore frui, verumque excurrere in omne.

Si quæras quî fiat, adhuc neque noſcere fas eſt,
Nec refert noſtra; ſciſne iſtam matris in alvo
Vitam qualis erat? Num nôrit amœna colorum
A partu cæcus? Verùm inquis hic quoque ſentit
Eſſe aliis, ſibi quod nato ad meliora negatur.

Mens itidem nihil hîc terrarum quicquid ubique eſt
Par votis videt eſſe ſuis; quin omnia ſordent

Yet oft we ſee, thoſe ſenſes ſhe corrects;
And oft their information quite rejects.
In diſtances of things, their ſhapes, and ſize,
Our reaſon judges better than our eyes.
Declares not this the ſoul's pre-eminence
Superior to, and quite diſtinct from ſenſe?
For ſure 'tis likely, that, ſince now ſo high;
Clog'd and unfledg'd ſhe dares her wings to try,
Loos'd and mature ſhe ſhall her ſtrength diſplay,
And ſoar at length to Truth's refulgent ray.

Inquire you how theſe pow'rs we ſhall attain,
'Tis not for us to know; our ſearch is vain:
Can any now remember or relate
How he exiſted in the embryo ſtate?
Or one from birth inſenſible of day
Conceive ideas of the ſolar ray?
That light's deny'd to him, which others ſee;
He knows, perhaps you'll ſay,—and ſo do we.

The mind contemplative finds nothing here
On earth that's worthy of a wiſh or fear:

He,

Præ forma æterni, ſervat quam pectore, Pulcri,
Ingenii cui ſit vigor, et ſublimia cordi.
Hoc ergo exoptat ſolum ſibi, totus in hoc eſt:
Abſens, abſentis tabeſcit amore perenni;
Congreſſuſque hominum vitans, ut verus amator,
Et nemora, et fontes petit, et ſecreta locorum;
Solus ubi ſecum poſſit meditarier, atque
Nunc Sophia, ingentes nunc carmine fallere curas.

Quocirca ille mihi felix vixiſſe videtur,
Qui poſtquam aſpexit mundi ſolenne theatrum
Æquo animo, hunc ſolem, et terras, mare, nubila, et ignem;
Protinus unde abiit, ſatur ut conviva, remigrat.
Nempe hæc, ſeu centum vivendo conteris annos,
Seu paucos numeras, eadem redeuntia cernes;
Et nihil his melius, nihil his ſublimius unquam:
Omne adeo in terris agitur quod tempus, habeto
Ut commune forum; peregre vel euntibus amplum
Hoſpitium, temere fluitans ubi vita moratur,
Mille inter nugas jactata, negotia mille.
Qui prior abſcedit, portum prior occupat; Eja!
Totos pande ſinus, ne fortè viatica deſint.

He, whoſe ſublime purſuit is God and truth,
Burns, like ſome abſent and impatient youth,
To join the object of his warm deſires,
Thence to ſequeſter'd ſhades, and ſtreams retires,
And there delights his paſſion to rehearſe
In Wiſdom's ſacred voice, or in harmonious verſe.

To me moſt happy therefore he appears,
Who having once, unmov'd by hopes or fears,
Survey'd this ſun, earth, ocean, clouds, and flame,
Well-ſatisfy'd, returns from whence he came.
Is life an hundred years, or e'er ſo few,
'Tis repetition all, and nothing new:
A fair where thouſands meet, but none can ſtay,
An inn, where travellers bait, then poſt away;
A ſea where man perpetually is toſt,
Now plung'd in buſineſs, now in trifles loſt:
Who leave it firſt, the peaceful port firſt gain;
Hold then! no farther launch into the main:
Contract your ſails; life nothing can beſtow
By long continuance, but continu'd woe:

The

Quid ceſſas? ſubeunt morbique et acerba tuorum
Funera, et inſidiis circùm undique ſepta ſenectus.

Quò feror? Haud etenim injuſſu decedere fas eſt
Illius, hac vitæ qui nos ſtatione locavit,
Spemque metumque inter, ducis ut vexilla ſequamur
Quicquid erit, Deus ipſe jubet ferre; ergò ferendum *.

Sin mihi perſuaſum fixumque in mente maneret
Nil ſupereſſe rogo, vellem migrare repentè
Hinc; et abire omnes ubi, ſeriùs, ociùs, acto
Dramate, in æterna ſopiti nocte quieſcent.
Immo Deus mihi ſi dederit renovare juventam,
Utve iterum in cunis poſſim vagire; recuſem.

Non

* With what original ſublimity of thought and language was this argument enforced by Mr. Maſon, in his Elfrida, before this Poem was publiſhed! Athelweld, on his marriage with Elfrida being diſcovered to King Edgar, in the agony of diſtreſs intimates the dreadful purpoſe of ſuicide, from which the Chorus diſſuades him in the following moſt beautiful lines:

——— Forbear, forbear!
Think what a ſea of deep perdition whelms
The wretch's trembling ſoul, who launches forth
Unlicens'd to Eternity. Think, think,

And

The wretched privilege daily to deplore
The fun'rals of our friends, who go before:
Diſeaſes, pains, anxieties, and cares,
And age ſurrounded with a thouſand ſnares.

But whither hurry'd by a gen'rous ſcorn
Of this vain world, ah whither am I borne?
Let's not unbid th' Almighty's ſtandard quit,
Howe'er ſevere our poſt, we muſt ſubmit,

Cou'd I a firm perſuaſion once attain
That after death no Being wou'd remain;
To thoſe dark ſhades I'd willingly deſcend,
Where all muſt ſleep, this drama at an end:
Nor life accept altho' renew'd by Fate
Ev'n from its earlieſt, and its happieſt ſtate.

And let the thought reſtrain thy impious hand.
The race of Man is one vaſt marſhall'd army,
Summon'd to paſs the ſpacious realms of time;
Their leader the Almighty. In that march,
Ah! who may quit his poſt? when high in air
The chos'n Archangel rides, whoſe right hand wields
Th' imperial ſtandard of Heav'n's Providence,
Which, deadly ſweeping through the vaulted ſky,
O'erſhadows all creation. E.

Mirth

Non ſi contingant vitam quæcunque beârint;
Ingenii vis, eloquium, prudentia, mores,
Invidiâ ſine partus honos, longo ordine nati,
Clari omnes, patria pariter virtute, ſuâque;
Non tantâ mercede iſthac, dignarer eandem
Ire viam toties, et eodem volvier orbe:
Splendidiora quidem mens expetit; illius altis
Par votis nil eſt mutabile, nil periturum.

Might I from Fortune's bounteous hand receive
Each boon, each bleſſing in her pow'r to give,
Genius, and ſcience, morals, and good ſenſe,
Unenvy'd honors, wit, and eloquence,
A num'rous offspring to the world well known
Both for paternal virtues, and their own:
Ev'n at this mighty price I'd not be bound
To tread the ſame dull circle round, and round;
The ſoul requires enjoyments more ſublime,
By ſpace unbounded, undeſtroy'd by time.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

ERGO aliis Deus in rebus quaſcunque creavit
Argumenta animi dedit haud obſcura benigni;
Omnibus, excipias modò nos, licet eſſe beatis.
Nos, opus in terris princeps, nos mentis imago
Divinæ, pœnis nos exercemur iniquis.
Haud ita;—longè abſint iſti de numine queſtus.

Attamen humanam mecum circumſpice vitam;
Agnoſces, quanta urgeat undique turba malorum,
Non hunc, aut illum, fert ut Fortuna; ſed omne
Pæne catervatim genus, ac diſcrimine nullo.
Millia quot belli rabies, quot ſæva tyrannis
Corpora dat morti, duris oneratve catenis;
Inque dies, varias cruciandi excogitat artes!
Quid, quos dira fames, ad victum ubi cuncta ſuperſunt,
Abſumit miſeros, aut quos vis effera morbi
Corripit, aut lento paulatim angore peredit

Infontes?

BOOK II.

GOD then thro' all creation gives, we find,
Sufficient marks of an indulgent mind,
Excepting in ourſelves; ourſelves of all
His works the chief on this terreſtrial ball,
His own bright image, who alone unbleſt
Feel ills perpetual, happy all the reſt.
But hold, preſumptuous! charge not Heav'n's decree
With ſuch injuſtice, ſuch partiality.

Yet true it is, ſurvey we life around,
Whole hoſts of ills on ev'ry ſide are found;
Who wound not here and there by chance a foe,
But at the ſpecies meditate the blow:
What millions periſh by each other's hands
In War's fierce rage? or by the dread commands
Of tyrants languiſh out their lives in chains,
Or loſe them in variety of pains?
What numbers pinch'd by want and hunger die,
In ſpite of Nature's liberality?

Inſontes ? neque enim dignabor dicere, vulgò
Quot Venus aut Vinum peſſundedit ac ſua culpa.

Quid profit Virtus ? ſanctorum ubi præmia morum ?
Virtuti tribuo quamtum licet ; ut male vitæ,
Quæ prohibere nequit, doceat lenire ferendo ;
Spe recreet meliore ; hominem ſibi concilietque ;
Irarum et tumidos et amorum temperet æſtus :
Verùm adèo non tutela eſt, certuſque ſatelles
Contra omnes caſus, ſæpe ut (ſi dicere fas eſt)
Sæpe etiam et Virtus in aperta pericula mittat.
Expedit eſſe malis, dominum qui ferre ſuperbum
Coguntur : probitatem omnes odêre tyranni.
Quàm multi bene promeriti de civibus, horum
Quos conſervârunt cæco periêrē furore !
Jam verò ingenio ſi quis valet, omnis in illum
Invida conjurat plebecula ; dente parati

Rodere

(Thoſe, ſtill more num'rous, I to name diſdain,
By lewdneſs and intemperance juſtly ſlain;)
What numbers guiltleſs of their own diſeaſe
Are ſnatch'd by ſudden death, or waſte by ſlow degrees?

Where then is Virtue's well deſerv'd reward!—
Let's pay to Virtue ev'ry due regard,
That ſhe enables man, let us confeſs,
To bear thoſe evils, which ſhe can't redreſs,
Gives hope, and conſcious peace, and can aſſuage
Th' impetuous tempeſts both of luſt and rage;
Yet ſhe's a guard ſo far from being ſure,
That oft her friends peculiar ills endure:
Where Vice prevails ſevereſt is their fate,
Tyrants purſue them with a three-fold hate;
How many ſtruggling in their country's cauſe,
And from their country meriting applauſe,
Have fall'n by wretches fond to be inſlav'd,
And periſh'd by the hands themſelves had ſav'd?
Soon as ſuperior worth appears in view,
See knaves and fools united to purſue!

Rodere vipereo, famæque aſpergere virus.
Fac porro ut meritis obſtantem diſſipet umbram;
Muneraque emergens vix demùm publica tractet:
Sudandum ingrata eſt hominum pro gente, ferendum
Probrorum genus omne, adeunda pericula, vel quæ
Seditio attulerit vulgi, ambitiove potentûm.
Audiat hæc, ſibi qui nomen, qui poſcit honores;
Demens; nec novit ſe quanta incommoda cingant.

Vivitur an meliùs privatim? Non minus iſthic,
Cernis ut ira, libido, ſcelus dominentur ubique;
Fraus et amicitiam ſimulans; livorque malignus;
Jurgiaque inſidiæque, et iniquæ ratia legis.

Attamen eſt, vitæ lenimen, amabilis uxor;
Lætus agis ſecura domeſticus otia; dulces
Arrident circùm, properant et ad oſcula nati;
Mox obrepentis decus et tutela ſenectæ.

Hîc eſt aut nuſquam quod quærimus; eſto, ſed iſthæc
Nullæne interea corrumpunt gaudia curæ?

The man ſo form'd, they all conſpire to blame,
And Envy's pois'nous tooth attacks his fame;
Shou'd he at length, ſo truly good and great,
Prevail, and rule with honeſt views the ſtate,
Then muſt he toil for an ungrateful race,
Submit to clamor, libels, and diſgrace,
Threaten'd, oppos'd, defeated in his ends,
By foes ſeditious, and aſpiring friends.
Hear this, and tremble! all who wou'd be great,
Yet know not what attends that dang'rous wretched ſtate.

Is private life from all theſe evils free?
Vice of all kinds, rage, envy there we ſee,
Deceit, that Friendſhip's maſk inſidious wears,
Quarrels, and feuds, and laws entangling ſnares.

But there are pleaſures ſtill in human life,
Domeſtic eaſe, a tender loving wife,
Children, whoſe dawning ſmiles your heart engage,
The grace and comfort of ſoft-ſtealing age:

If happineſs exiſts, 'tis ſurely here,
But are theſe joys exempt from care and fear?

Quid mala commemorem, ſi quando, ut ſæpius, ambos
Diſcolor ingenium ſtudia in contraria ducat?
Adde quod in trutina mores expendere juſta
Haud facile, ante ineunt quam fœdus uterque jugale:
Nec ſi pœniteat, fas eſt abrumpere vinclum;
Sors at dura manet; conjecta eſt alea vitæ.

Præterea natos ecquis præſtabit honeſto
Ingenio imbutos, pulcrique bonique tenaces;
Sin hac parte tuis reſpondent omnia votis;
Heu! minimè cum reris, in ipſo flore juventæ,
Mors inopina domûs ſpem protinùs abripit omnem.

At non hæc Virtus mala parturit: immo fatemur,
Munia ſi peragat ſua quiſque fidelitur, eſſet
Nil potius Virtute; redirent aurea jam tum
Sæcula; verùm ævo non vivere contigit aureo.

His animadverſis, quidam primordia mundi
Bina, Deos fingunt binos; quorum alter iniquo
Præditus ingenio, ſcelus omne immittit in orbem;
Alter opem præſens affert, medicina malorum.
Hinc varius vitæ color, hinc pravique bonique

Miſta

Need I the miſeries of that ſtate declare,
When diff'rent paſſions draw the wedded pair?
Or ſay how hard thoſe paſſions to diſcern,
Ere the dye's caſt, and 'tis too late to learn?

Who can inſure, that what is right, and good,
Theſe children ſhall purſue? or if they ſhou'd,
Death comes when leaſt you fear ſo black a day,
And all your blooming hopes are ſnatch'd away.

We ſay not, that theſe ills from Virtue flow;
Did her wiſe precepts rule the world, we know
The golden ages would again begin;
But 'tis our lot in this to ſuffer, and to ſin.

Obſerving this, ſome ſages have decreed
That all things from two cauſes muſt proceed;
Two principles with equal pow'r endu'd,
This wholly evil, that ſupremely good.
From this ariſe the miſeries we endure,
Whilſt that adminiſters a friendly cure;
Hence life is chequer'd ſtill with bliſs and woe,
Hence tares with golden crops promiſcuous grow,

Miſta ſeges, roſeiſque latens malus anguis in hortis.
Siccine res ergo eſt confecta? Sed illa pôteſtas,
Quæſierim, par ſit, quam Dis adſcribis, an impar:
Si par illa quidem, ruerunt aut cuncta repente
In Chaos antiquum, nihil aut potuiſſet oriri;
Quippe bonum res eſt ſemper contraria pravo:
Sin impar, mora nulla foret quin cederet alter
Alterius vi debellatus, et omnia deinceps
Deleret victor priſcæ veſtigia litis.
Aufer abhinc igitur ſtulta hæc commenta Magorum,
Et quæ cœnoſus fert monſtra biformia Nilus.

Stoicus an meliùs? Nempe hic non eſſe bonorum
In numero cenſet, nos quæ miramur ineptè:
Divitias, famam, quodcunque acceſſerit extra,
Pro nihilo ſapiens habet; aut hæc poſſidet unus;
Poſſidet, ignotus licet ac pauperrimus; Euge!
Quàm pulcrum ſapere eſt! ſimili ratione dolorem
Haud putat eſſe malum, ſibi conſentaneus idem.
Comburas igni; tradas ferrove ſecandum:
In cruce ſuffigas; nunquam extorquebis, ut iſthæc

And pois'nous ſerpents make their dead repoſe
Beneath the covert of the fragrant roſe.

Can ſuch a ſyſtem ſatisfy the mind?
Are both theſe Gods in equal pow'r conjoin'd,
Or one ſuperior? Equal if you ſay,
Chaos returns, ſince neither will obey;
Is one ſuperior? good or ill muſt reign,
Eternal joy, or everlaſting pain.
Which e'er is conquer'd muſt entirely yield,
And the victorious God enjoy the field:
Hence with theſe fictions of the *Magi*'s brain!
Hence ouzy *Nile*, with all her monſtrous train!

Or comes the Stoic nearer to the right?
He holds, that whatſoever yields delight,
Wealth, fame, externals all, are uſeleſs things;
Himſelf half ſtarving happier far than kings.
'Tis fine indeed to be ſo wond'rous wiſe!
By the ſame reaſoning too he pain denies;
Roaſt him, or flea him, break him on the wheel,
Retract he will not, tho' he can't but feel;

Pain's

Eſſe mala agnoſcat: Quidnam ergo? Incommoda dicit.
Quid tibi viſa valetudo? Quid gratia formæ,
Stoice? Quid validæ vires? Sunt hæc bona, necne?
Non optanda quidem ſunt, at ſumenda; Sophiſtam
Quis ferat hunc, verbis non re diverſa docentem?

Quid multa? Externis ſine rebus poſſe beatè
Vivere te ſperes, ſi nil niſi ſpiritus eſſes:
Interea quinam ſis Stoice, noſſe memento;
Natus homo es, qui mente itidemque ex corpore conſtat.

Sin verò, acciderint quæcunque extrinſecus, iſthæc
Dat Fortuna adimitque; benigna, maligna viciſſim
Nunc mihi nunc alii; neque ſunt quæ noſtra vocemus;
Quid ſapiente illo fiet, qui non minus ac nos
Momento dubiæ fluitat mutabilis horæ?
Vim porro hanc animi, pendent unde omnia quæ Tu
Exoptanda putas, quàm ſæpe retundere morbus,
Sæpe ſolet delere, ut vix veſtigia reſtent!

Pain's not an ill, he utters with a groan;
What then? an inconvenience 'tis, he'll own:
What vigour, health, and beauty? are theſe good?
No: they may be accepted, not purſued:
Abſurd to ſquabble thus about a name,
Quibbling with diff'rent words that mean the ſame,
Stoic, were you not fram'd of fleſh and blood,
You might be bleſt without external good;
But know, be ſelf-ſufficient as you can,
You are not ſpirit quite, but frail, and mortal man.

But ſince theſe ſages, ſo abſurdly wiſe,
Vainly pretend enjoyments to deſpiſe,
Becauſe externals, and in Fortune's pow'r,
Now mine, now thine, the bleſſings of an hour;
Why value then, that ſtrength of mind, they boaſt,
As often varying, and as quickly loſt?
A head-ach hurts it, or a rainy day,
And a ſlow fever wipes it quite away.

Ille etiam qui conſiliis, ille alter et armis
Rem qui reſtituit, cum ſpes haud ulla, Britannam,
Teſtantur quantùm virtus, ſapientia quantùm
Poſſit, et ingenii quàm ſit flos ipſe caducum.

Tum porro ille recens, quem poſtera vidimus ætas,
Scribendi omne tulit qui punctum, ſive facetas
Mimi ageret partes, ſeu rhetoris atque poetæ;
Eheu! Quantus erat! Nec longum tempus, et idem
Defuncta ſpirans jam mente, ſuîque ſuperſtes:
Uſque adeo externis nihil inviolabile telis.

Condonanda tamen ſententia, Stoice, veſtra eſt:
Nam ſi poſt obitum neque præmia ſint neque pœnæ,
Heu! quò perventum eſt! Heu quid jam denique reſtat!
Scilicet humanas gerit aut res Numen iniquè,
Aut nil curat, iners; aut, ſi bene temperat orbem,
Nemo bonus miſer eſt, nemo improbus eſſe beatus
In vita poſſit, gens ut ſibi Stoica fingit.

O cæcas

See * one whoſe councils, one † whoſe conqu'ring hand
Once ſav'd Britannia's almoſt ſinking land:
Examples of the mind's extenſive pow'r,
Examples too how quickly fades that flow'r.

Him let me add, whom late we ſaw excel
‡ In each politer kind of writing well;
Whether he ſtrove our follies to expoſe
In eaſy verſe, or droll, and hum'rous proſe;
Few years alas! compel his throne to quit
This mighty monarch o'er the realms of wit,
See ſelf-ſurviving he's an ideot grown!
A melancholy proof our parts are not our own.

Thy tenets, Stoic, yet we may forgive,
If in a future ſtate we ceaſe to live.
For here the virtuous ſuffer much, 'tis plain;
If pain is evil, this muſt God arraign;
And on this principle confeſs we muſt,
Pain can no evil be, or God muſt be unjuſt.

* Lord Somers. † Duke of Marlborough.
‡ Dean Swift.

Blind

O cæcas hominum mentes! confinia veri
Qui ſimul attigerint, hærent; finemque ſub ipſum,
Attonitis ſimiles, opera imperfecta relinquunt.
Juſtitiamne Dei te, Stoice, poſſe fateri,
Cernere nec quid ritè velit? Quin ſtrenuus audes
Pergere ad æternam, ducit quà ſemita, vitam?
" Quicquid id eſt, celat nox, circumfuſa tenebris."
Non iſthoc, tua te potius fiducia cæcat;
Hinc nox, hinc illæ tenebræ; quia nempe triumphas,
Nondum propoſiti victor; quia ponere totum
Neſcius, in ſpatii medio conſiſtis; ut omnes
Sive magi Perſæ, ſeu Græcula turba Sophorum.
En quantis unus portentis pullulat error!

Accipe rem quò nunc deducam. Quiſque fatemur
Eſſe Deum; Jam ſi ſapiens, juſtuſque ſit Author,
Hunc Mundi ornatum qui protulit atque gubernat,
Quodcunque eſt fit ritè; canit prout ille poeta;
Nec patitur jus faſve, bonis ut ſit male ſemper,
Improbitas aut ſemper ovans incedat; at iſthuc

Blind man! whoſe reaſon ſuch ſtrait bounds confine,
That ere it touches truth's extremeſt line,
It ſtops amaz'd, and quits the great deſign.
Own you not, Stoic, God is juſt and true?
Dare to proceed; ſecure this path purſue:
'Twill ſoon conduct you far beyond the tomb,
To future juſtice, and a life to come.
This path, you ſay, is hid in endleſs night,
'Tis ſelf-conceit alone obſtructs your ſight:
You ſtop, ere half your deſtin'd courſe is run,
And triumph when the conqueſt is not won;
By this the Sophiſts were of old miſled:
See what a monſtrous race from one miſtake is bred!

Hear then my argument:—confeſs we muſt,
A God there is, ſupremely wiſe and juſt:
If ſo, however things affect our ſight,
As ſings our bard, *whatever is, is right.*
But is it right, what here ſo oft appears,
That vice ſhou'd triumph, virtue ſink in tears?

Res redit, omnino ſi morte extinguimur omnes.
Quodcunque eſt fit ritè, velis ſi cernere ſummam;
Contra, ſi noſtri nihil ultra funera vivit.
Vir bonus et ſapiens vitam connectet utramque.
At ſunt, hærentes verborum in cortice nudo,
Singula qui, non rerum ingens ſyſtema tuentur,
Atque hodierna omnem cogunt in tempora ſcenam.
Advolat huc furum turba omnis, et omnis adulter;
Hanc ſibi perfugio petit et ſicarius aram.

Scilicet ipſe rato ſtatuit Deus ordine leges,
Quas temerare poteſt nemo; probus improbus an ſit
Quid refert? nihil hîc reſcindere homuncio poſſit,
Nil mutare; ſuum ſervant res uſque tenorem.

Dic mihi quas leges narras, quive iſte ſit ordo?
Altera namque homini eſt, animalibus altera brutis;
Altera lex rerum maſſæ rationis egenti.

Eſt ſua materiæ gravitas; hinc, non propria vi
Attrahit, attrahitur; varios hinc incita motus
Conficit, hinc ſtat compages et machina mundi.

Quid

The inference then, that closes this debate,
Is, that there must exist a future state.
The wise extending their enquiries wide
See how both states are by connection ty'd;
Fools view but part, and not the whole survey,
So crowd existence all into a day.
Hence are they led to hope, but hope in vain,
That justice never will resume her reign;
On this vain hope adulterers, thieves rely,
And to this altar vile assassins fly.
"But rules not God by general laws divine:
"Man's vice or virtue change not the design:"
What laws are these? instruct us if you can: ——
There's one design'd for brutes, and one for man:
Another guides inactive matter's course,
Attracting, and attracted by its force:
Hence mutual gravity subsists between
Far distant worlds, and ties the vast machine.

Quid dicam quibus eſt vitæ ſpirabile donum,
Alituum genus an pecudes; an ſæva ferarum
Semina; fœcundo vel quæ fovet ubere pontus?
Non horum quivis temerè et ſine lege vagatur;
Quin, ſive afflatu divinæ contigit auræ,
Seu rationis habent quantum deſiderat uſus,
His aliqua prodire tenus datur; En ſibi ſolers
Quiſque parat victum; ſua tractat gnaviter arma;
Atque edit fœtus, atque eſca nutrit amica
Quos peperit, prodeſt teneris dum cura parentum.
Hic labor, hæc vitæ eſt omnis dulcedo; nec ultra
Aut cupit aut metuit, ſatis hoc in munere felix.

Latior aſt homini campus patet; Ille, ſagaci
Ingenio, Artificis dignoſcit ſigna ſupremi,
Immenſum per opus, tot miris fertile, mundum.
Talibus indiciis, rerum dominumque patremque
Ille in vota vocat; pulcrique imbutus amore
Exemplar ſibi divinum proponit, ut inde
Poſſit et ipſe ſuos imitando effingere mores.
Pulcrius utque nihil, nihil ut divinius eſt quàm
Proſpiciens aliis Bonitas, diffuſaque latè;

Ille

The laws of life, why need I call to mind,
Obey'd by birds, and beaſts of every kind?
By all the ſandy deſarts ſavage brood,
And all the num'rous offspring of the flood;
Of theſe none uncontroul'd, and lawleſs rove,
But to ſome deſtin'd end ſpontaneous move:
Led by that inſtinct, heav'n itſelf inſpires,
Or ſo much reaſon, as their ſtate requires;
See all with ſkill acquire their daily food,
All uſe thoſe arms, which nature has beſtow'd;
Produce their tender progeny, and feed
With care parental, whilſt that care they need;
In theſe lov'd offices compleatly bleſt,
No hopes beyond them, nor vain fears moleſt.

Man o'er a wider field extends his views;
God thro' the wonders of his works purſues,
Exploring thence his attributes, and laws,
Adores, loves, imitates th' Eternal cauſe;
For ſure in nothing we approach ſo nigh
The great example of divinity,

Ille aliena, ſibi putat haud aliena; nec axem
Vertitur uſque ſuum circa, ſibi providus uni;
At patriam, at genus omne hominum, genus omne animantûm,
Ingenti, ſe diffundens, complectitur orbe.

Hæc ſtabilivit item Natura perennia vitæ
Jura, hominum per ſeſe inopem cum finxit; ut alter
Alterius depoſcat opem, et ſua quiſque viciſſim
Conſilia in medium promat, ſermone miniſtro.
Confer cum reliquis etenim viventibus; Ecquid
Eſt hominis forma magis ad tutamen inerme?
Quanta ſed huic virtus et inexpugnabile robur;
Si communis amor, gravitas velut, alligat uno
Fœdere, conſociatque inter ſe diffita membra?

Lex igitur, lex hæc animis inſculpta, benigno
Hæc nutu ſancita Dei eſt; hanc comprobat ipſa
Utilitas; huc quemque trahit nativa voluptas

As in benevolence: the patriot's ſoul
Knows not ſelf-center'd for itſelf to roll,
But warms, enlightens, animates the whole:
Its mighty orb embraces firſt his friends,
His country next, then man; nor here it ends
But to the meaneſt animal deſcends.

Wiſe Nature has this ſocial law confirm'd
By forming man ſo helpleſs, and unarm'd;
His want of others' aid, and pow'r of ſpeech
T' implore that aid this leſſon daily teach:
Mankind with other animals compare,
Single how weak, and impotent they are!
But view them in their complicated ſtate,
Their pow'rs how wond'rous, and their ſtrength how great,
When ſocial virtue individuals joins,
And in one ſolid maſs, like gravity combines!

This then's the firſt great law by Nature giv'n,
Stamp'd on our ſouls, and ratify'd by Heav'n;
All from utility this law approve,
As ev'ry private bliſs muſt ſpring from ſocial love.

Quorſum abeunt tamen iſta? Videſne effræna libido,
Vel mala conſuetudo, vel ipſa inſcitia, quantas
Dent latè ſtrages, hominum pars quantula felix!
Contemplator enim, quà ſol oriturve, caditve;
Aut loca quæ Boreas, aut quæ tenet ultimus Auſter;
Perpetuove jacet tellus ubi torrida ab igni:
Quanta ibi pauperies et inertia! quanta ferinis
Offuſa eſt animis caligo, inſanus et error!
Vix hominis, præter formam, veſtigia cernas.

Quid nos, uberiora Deus quibus ipſe ſalutis
Lumina dat, ducitque manu, ſanctiſſima cuſtos,
Relligio; ducit, non vi trahit imperioſa?
Ecce renitentes jubar immortale diemque
Odimus oblatam, commentaque vana tenemus;
Vana Sophiſtarum gloſſemata, luce relicta.
His pro quiſquiliis heu! digladiamur, ut aris,
Implacabiliter: quot cædes inde, cruorque
Fraternus! Pietas quot parturit impia facta!

Uſque adeo morum vitioſa licentia miſcet
Fas omne atque nefas, graſſata impunè per orbem.

Why deviate then ſo many from this law?
See paſſions, cuſtom, vice, and folly draw!
Survey the rolling globe from eaſt to weſt,
How few, alas! how very few are bleſt?
Beneath the frozen poles, and burning line,
What poverty and indolence combine,
To cloud with error's miſts the human mind!
No trace of man, but in the form we find.

And are we free from error and diſtreſs,
Whom Heav'n with clearer light has pleas'd to bleſs?
Whom true religion leads? (for ſhe but leads
By ſoft perſuaſion, not by force proceeds;)
Behold how we avoid this radiant ſun,
This proffer'd guide how obſtinately ſhun,
And after Sophiſtry's vain ſyſtems run!
For theſe as for eſſentials we engage
In wars, and maſſacres with holy rage;
Brothers by brothers' impious hands are ſlain,
Miſtaken zeal, how ſavage is thy reign!

Unpuniſh'd vices here ſo much abound,
All right, and wrong, all order they confound;

Illa gigantea eſt vis, quæ reſcindere cœlum
Conatur, monteſque imponere montibus audet.
Aſpicit hæc, Deus an nequicquam fulmina librat?
Pectora an humani nihil immortalia tangit?
Aſpicit; improperata licèt, ſua quemque ſequentur
Præmia pro meritis; neque pœna incerta morando eſt

Haud equidem humanis dubito quin nunc quoque rebus
Ipſe interveniat Deus, et ne funditus omnis
Intereat ſenſus divini Vindicis, edat
Per gentes exempla modis inſignia miris.
Parciùs iſta tamen; non, ut temeraria fingit
Uſque Superſtitio, torquet quæ Numinis iram
In quoſcunque velit, ſuaque eripit arma Tonanti.

Nec ſum animi ignarus quid mens ſibi conſcia poſſit;
Ut neque ſit virtus jam nunc mercede ſine ulla,
Nec nullas dum vita manet des, improbe, pœnas;
Quanquam homines fallas haud te tamen effugis ipſe:

Te

Theſe are the giants, who the gods defy,
And mountains heap on mountains to the ſky;
Sees this th' Almighty Judge, or ſeeing ſpares,
And deems the crimes of man beneath his cares?
He ſees; and will at laſt rewards beſtow,
And puniſhments, not leſs aſſur'd for being ſlow.

Nor doubt I, tho' this ſtate confus'd appears,
That ev'n in this God ſometimes interferes;
Sometimes, leſt man ſhou'd quite his pow'r diſown,
He makes that power to trembling nations known:
But rarely this; not for each vulgar end,
As Superſtition's idle tales pretend,
Who thinks all foes to God who are her own,
Directs his thunder, and uſurps his throne.

Nor know I not how much a conſcious mind
Avails to puniſh, or reward mankind;
Ev'n in this life thou, impious wretch, muſt feel
The fury's ſcourges, and th' infernal wheel;
From man's tribunal, tho' thou hop'ſt to run,
Thyſelf thou can'ſt not, nor thy conſcience ſhun:

Te Diræ ultrices agitant, te Cura remordet
Sæva comes, memorique habitat ſub pectore vindex.

Quid tibi ſæpe graves cum morbi, debita luxûs
Dona, pthiſes lentæ, tormenta et acuta podagræ,
Atque tumens hydrops, ſpaſmuſque, urenſque marаſmus
Incubuêre, cohors funeſta? hinc degitur ævi
Portio ſi qua manet crudeli exeſa dolore;
Et quorum in vita poſita eſt ſpes unica, tædet
Vivendi, mortemque ſimul cupiuntque timentque.

Sin horum ad ſeros aliquis pervenerit annos,
Non habet unde iſthoc compenſet; nam neque dulces
Carpit amicitæ fructus, neque laude bonorum
Paſcitur, atque ſua, quoties anteacta revolvit;
At ſocii jam tum luxûs fugêre prioris,
Vilis adulator vacuas quoque deſerit ædes;
Atque illum, ſi quando oculos converterit intus,
Terret imago ſuî, ſeſe et dum reſpicit horret.
Ille etiam cum Mors adſtat, telumque coruſcat
Jam jamque intentans ictum, quas non adit artes
Anxius, ut miſerum medica vi proroget ævum

Pauliſper,

What muſt thou ſuffer when each dire diſeaſe,
The progeny of vice, thy fabric ſeize?
Conſumption, fever, and the racking pain
Of ſpaſms, and gout, and ſtone, a frightful train!
When life new tortures can alone ſupply,
Life thy ſole hope thou'lt hate, yet dread to die.

Shou'd ſuch a wretch to num'rous years arrive,
It can be little worth his while to live:
No honours, no regards his age attend,
Companions fly; he ne'er could have a friend:
His flatterers leave him, and with wild affright
He looks within, and ſhudders at the ſight:
When threatning Death uplifts his pointed dart
With what impatience he applies to art,

Pauliſper, mille et per curas vita trahatur ?]
Quòd ſi vita referta malis, noſtrique ſuperſtes
Poſt mortem nihil eſt, cur ultima territat hora ?
Sic eſt, hæret adhuc quam ſpernere velle videtur,
Neſcio quæ ſortis cura importuna futuræ.

At contra quibus innocua et ſine crimine vita eſt,
Quique alios norûnt ſibi devincire merendo,
Aut qui præclaris ditârunt ſæcla repertis,——
Illis nectareo manans de fonte ſerenat
Conſcia laus animum, tranquillaque temperat ora.
Non metus abrumpit ſomnos, non invida cura ;
Non Venus aut Bacchus vires minuêre, neque illos
Res aut adverſæ frangunt inflantve ſecundæ :
Cui ſpes ulterior, caſus munitur ad omnes.——
Ergo ſenectutem labentes leniter anni
Cum ſenſim attulerint, mortem iſta mente propinquam
Aſpicit, ut longis qui tempeſtatibus actus
Portum in conſpectu tenet, effugiumque malorum.

Scilicet

Life to prolong amidſt diſeaſe and pains!
Why this, if after it no ſenſe remains?
Why ſhou'd he chuſe theſe miſeries to endure,
If Death cou'd grant an everlaſting cure?
'Tis plain there's ſomething whiſpers in his ear,
(Tho' fain he'd hide it) he has much to fear.

See the reverſe, how happy thoſe we find,
Who know by merit to engage mankind?
Prais'd by each tongue, by ev'ry heart belov'd,
For virtues practis'd, and for arts improv'd:
Their eaſy aſpects ſhine with ſmiles ſerene,
And all is peace, and happineſs within:
Their ſleep is ne'er diſturb'd by fears or ſtrife,
Nor luſt, nor wine, impair the ſprings of life.
Him Fortuue cannot ſink, nor much elate,
Whoſe views extend beyond this mortal ſtate;
By age when ſummon'd to reſign his breath,
Calm, and ſerene, he ſees approaching death,
As the ſafe port, the peaceful ſilent ſhore,
Where he may reſt, life's tedious voyage o'er:

He,

Scilicet hunc unum mortis vicinia terret,
Qui ſibi præmetuit ſi quid poſt funera reſtet;
Non hunc qui rectè vitam ſanctèque peregit.
Hic, ſeſe excutiens ſibi plaudit, et aureus ut ſol
Uſque ſub occaſum diffuſo lumine ridet:
Hic, matura dies cum mortis venerit, ævum
Suſpicit immortale, hic ſpe meliore triumphans
Cœlicolûm jam nunc prælibat gaudia votis.
Talis erat grata ſemper quem mente recordor
Ille, decus mitræ, libertatiſque ſatelles,
Dum tanti tempus propugnatoris egebat
Houghius; hic, numeros prope centenarius omnes
Cum vitæ explêrat; florenti plenus honore,
Senſibus integris, ſine morbo, experſque doloris,
Vivendique ſatur, ſic vita exibat, ut actor
E ſcena egregius toto plaudente theatro;
Aut qui poſt ſtadium ſumma cum laude peractum
Victor Olympiacæ poſcit ſibi præmia palmæ.

His patet indiciis animi vis conſcia quantùm
Spe foveat, crucietve metu mortalia corda.

Unde

He, and he only, is of death afraid,
Whom his own conſcience has a coward made;
Whilſt he, who Virtue's radiant courſe has run,
Deſcends like a ſerenely ſetting ſun,
His thoughts triumphant Heav'n alone employs,
And Hope anticipates his future joys.
So good, ſo bleſt th' illuſtrious *Hough* * we find,
Whoſe image dwells with pleaſure on my mind;
The mitre's glory, Freedom's conſtant friend,
In times which aſk'd a champion to defend;
Who after near an hundred virtuous years,
His ſenſes perfect, free from pains and fears,
Replete with life, with honours, and with age,
Like an applauded actor left the ſtage:
Or like ſome victor in th' Olympic games,
Who, having run his courſe, the crown of glory claims.

From this juſt contraſt plainly it appears,
How conſcience can inſpire both hopes and fears;

---

* Biſhop of Worceſter.

But

Unde ſed iſte metus, quid ſpes velit illa rogarim,
Si nil ſperandum eſt, obita nil morte timendum?
En ut venturo conſpirent omnia ſæclo!

Quocirca in terris benè ſeu res ſeu malè cedat,
Vir ſapiens nec amat vitam neque tetricus odit:
Intus enim quo ſe duro in diſcrimine rerum
Conſoletur, habet; ſin aura faventior afflet,
Immemor haud vivit quàm lubrica, quàmque caduca
Fortunæ bona ſint; bona ſi quis cenſet habenda,
Perdere quæ metuit, quæve aſpernatur adeptus.

Nec vereare quidem ne ſortè ad munia vitæ
Segnior hinc animus detrectet ferre labores,
Atque pericla ſubire, vocet ſi publicus uſus:
Liberum et erectum potiùs, rebuſque in agendis
Fortem hominem invictumque facit, caſuſque per omnes
Roborat externarum hæc deſpicientia rerum.

But whence proceed theſe hopes, or whence this dread,
If nothing really can affect the dead?
See all things join to promiſe, and preſage
The ſure arrival of a future age!
Whate'er their lot is here, the good and wiſe,
Nor doat on life, nor peeviſhly deſpiſe.
An honeſt man, when Fortune's ſtorms begin,
Has Conſolation always ſure within,
And, if ſhe ſends a more propitious gale,
He's pleas'd, but not forgetful it may fail.

Nor fear that he, who fits ſo looſe to life,
Shou'd too much ſhun its labours, and its ſtrife;
And ſcorning wealth, contented to be mean,
Shrink from the duties of this buſtling ſcene;
Or, when his country's ſafety claims his aid,
Avoid the fight inglorious, and afraid:
Who ſcorns life moſt muſt ſurely be moſt brave,
And he, who pow'r contemns, be leaſt a ſlave:
Virtue will lead him to Ambition's ends,
And prompt him to defend his country and his friends.

Hunc tamen incuſas, ut quem, ſpes unica mercis
Non veræ virtutis amor, non ſenſus honeſti
Servat in officio; nempe huic eſt ſordida virtus
Qui rectè facit ut poſt mortem præmia carpat.
Ille bonus verè eſt, quem, ſpes ſi nulla futuri,
Ad pulcrum atque decens per ſe ſuper omnia ducit
Morum dulce melos, & agendi ſemita ſimplex.
Eſto; nec ille malus qui non hîc hæret, at illam
Quò natura trahit metam ſcit rite tueri;
Semper et innatis ultra mortalia votis
Fertur ovans, pulcrumque petit ſine fine ſupremum.

Ergo age dic ſodes quæ præmia, quid ſibi ſperat
Mercedis? namque haud ſectatur vilia rerum.
Illum, non uſura vorax, non turba ſequentûm,
Non mendax plauſus, fucataque gloria; non quæ
Prava per incautum ſpargit mendacia vulgus
Ambitio tenet, aut titulorum ſplendor inanis:
At quò verus honos, quò fert natura, decuſque
Humani generis jubet ire, virilîter ibit:
Virtuteſque alias aliis virtutibus addens,
Donec in hac vitæ ſeſe exercere palæſtra
Cogitur, ingenium fata ad meliora parabit.

But ſtill his merit you cannot regard,
Who thus purſues a poſthumous reward;
His ſoul, you cry, is uncorrupt and great,
Who quite uninfluenc'd by a future ſtate,
Embraces Virtue from a nobler ſenſe
Of her abſtracted, native excellence,
From the ſelf conſcious joy her eſſence brings,
The beauty, fitneſs, harmony of things.
It may be ſo: yet he deſerves applauſe,
Who follows where inſtructive Nature draws;
Aims at rewards by her indulgence giv'n,
And ſoars triumphant on her wings to heav'n.

Say what this venal virtuous man purſues,
No mean rewards, no mercenary views;
Not wealth uſurious, or a num'rous train,
Not fame by fraud acquir'd, or title vain!
He follows but where Nature points the road,
Riſing in Virtue's ſchool, till he aſcends to God.

Cætera pars hominum ferimur jactante procella
Ut ratis, huc illuc; et per diverſa viarum
Conatu ingenti fugientem prendimus umbram.
Ac veluti infantes pueri crepitacula poſcunt
Ardenti ſtudio, mox, parta relinquere gaudent;
Sic etiam in plenis homines puerаſcimus annis.
At bene perſuaſum cui ſit, non eſſe ſupremam
Hanc animi vitam, reſtare ſed altera fata,
Salva illi res eſt, neque ſpe lactatur inani.
Quippe ubi mens hominis purum ſimplexque requirat
Irrequieta bonum, non ſperat ſorte potiri
Jam nunc felici: quid enim? nunc, vivimus omnes
Pravum ubi commiſtum recto eſt; ubi triſtia lætis;
Ipſa ubi deliraṇs inhiat ſapientia nugas;
Atque in odoratis florent aconita roſetis:
Omnia miſta quidem, fluxa omnia, ludicra demum
Omnia, nec votis eſt quod reſpondeat uſquam.
Forſan et ipſe Deus, divinum exquirere ſi fas
Conſilium, ſic res attemperat, uſque ſecundis
Adverſas miſcens, et amaris dulcia condit;
Spernere ut hinc diſcat terreſtria mens, et amicis
Caſtigata malis, cœlo ſpem ponat in uno,
Quo domus et patria eſt, requies ubi ſola laborum.

Quare

But we th' inglorious common herd of Man,
Sail without compaſs, toil without a plan;
In Fortune's varying ſtorms for ever toſt,
Shadows purſue, that in purſuit are loſt;
Mere infants all, till life's extremeſt day,
Scrambling for toys, then toſſing them away.
Who reſts of immortality aſſur'd
Is ſafe, whatever ills are here endur'd:
He hopes not vainly in a world like this,
To meet with pure uninterrupted bliſs;
For good and ill, in this imperfect ſtate,
Are ever mix'd by the decrees of fate.
With Wiſdom's richeſt harveſt Folly grows,
And baleful hemlock mingles with the roſe;
All things are blended, changeable, and vain,
No hope, no wiſh we perfectly obtain:
God may perhaps (might human Reaſon's line
Pretend to fathom infinite deſign)
Have thus ordain'd things, that the reſtleſs mind
No happineſs compleat on earth may find;
And, by this friendly chaſtiſement made wiſe,
To heav'n her ſafeſt beſt retreat may riſe.

Quare age, jam tandem memorata recollige mecum.
Quippe viam emensus dubiam, scopulosque latentes
Erroris nunc prætervectus et æquora cæca
Conspicio portum. Nempe hæc quæ cogitat et vult,
Mens haud terrenis conflata est ex elementis;
Ergo naturâ est quiddam immortale suapte.
Verùm hanc interea Deus hanc extinguere possit:
Esto, Deus possit si fert divina voluntas;
At non extinguet: neque enim vis illa sciendi
Tot res humana tam longè sorte remotas;
Nec porro Æterni nunquam satiata cupido;
Nec desiderium nostris in mentibus hærens
Perfecti, frustra est. Jam si fas jusque requirunt
Ut sceleri malè sit, benè virtutique, nec illa
Alterutri sors obtingat, dum vivitur istic;
Restat ut hoc alio fiat discrimen in ævo.

Come then, ſince now in ſafety we have paſt
Thro' Error's rocks, and ſee the port at laſt,
Let us review and recollect the whole.——————
Thus ſtands my argument.——The thinking ſoul
Cannot terreſtrial, or material be,
But claims by nature immortality;
God, who created it, can make it end,
We queſtion not, but cannot apprehend
He will; becauſe it is by him endued
With ſtrong ideas of all perfect good:
With wond'rous pow'rs to know and calculate
Things too remote from this our earthly ſtate;
With ſure preſages of a life to come,
All falſe and uſeleſs; if beyond the tomb
Our beings ceaſe: we therefore can't believe
God either acts in vain, or can deceive.

If ev'ry rule of equity demands,
That Vice and Virtue from the Almighty's hands
Shou'd due rewards, and puniſhments receive,
And this by no means happens whilſt we live;
It follows that a time muſt ſurely come,
When each ſhall meet their well-adjuſted doom:

Tum vero quæ nunc rudis, et ſapiente bonoque,
Si genus humanum ſpectes, haud Numine digna eſt
Scena, revelabit dempta ſe nube, colorque
Verus erit rebus, veruſque videbitur ordo.
Hoc niſi credideris, dic, qua ratione probetur
Omnino eſſe Deum ſummo qui conſilio res
Juſtitiaque regit; num cætera ſcilicet aptè
Dirigit, hac quæ precipua eſt in parte laborat?
Haud ita; tempus erit, noli quo quærere more,
Hoc ſatis eſt, hoc conſtat, erit poſt funera tempus;
Cum Deus, ut par eſt, æquos excernet iniquis,
Sontibus inſontes, et idonea cuique rependet.

Then ſhall this ſcene, which now to human ſight
Seems ſo unworthy wiſdom infinite,
A ſyſtem of conſummate ſkill appear,
And ev'ry cloud diſpers'd, be beautiful and clear.

Doubt we of this! what ſolid proof remains,
That o'er the world a wiſe diſpoſer reigns?
Whilſt all Creation ſpeaks a pow'r divine,
Is it deficient in the main deſign?
Not ſo: the day ſhall come, (pretend not now
Preſumptuous to enquire or when, or how)
But after death ſhall come th' important day,
When God to all his juſtice ſhall diſplay;
Each action with impartial eyes regard,
And in a juſt proportion puniſh and reward.

PIECES,

RELIGIOUS,

MORAL,

METAPHYSICAL,

AND

POLITICAL.

THE

WORLD.

NUMBER CXXV.

HAD the many wiſe philoſophers of antiquity, who have ſo often and ſo juſtly compared the life of man to a race, lived in the preſent times, they would have ſeen the propriety of that ſimile greatly augmented; for if we obſerve the behaviour of the polite part of this nation (that is, of *all* the nation) we ſhall ſee that their whole lives are one continued race; in which every one is endeavouring to diſtance all behind him, and to overtake, or paſs by, all who are before him: every one is flying from his inferiors, in purſuit of his ſuperiors who fly from Him with equal alacrity.

Were

Were not the conſequences of this ridiculous pride of the moſt deſtructive nature to the public, the ſcene would be really entertaining. Every tradeſman is a merchant, every merchant is a gentleman, and every gentleman one of the nobleſs. We are a nation of gentry, *populus generoſorum:* we have no ſuch thing as common people amongſt us: between vanity and gin, the ſpecies is utterly deſtroyed. The ſons of our loweſt mechanics, acquiring with their learning at charity-ſchools, the laudable ambition of becoming gentle-folks, deſpiſe their paternal occupations, and are all ſoliciting for the honourable employments of tidewaiters and exciſemen. Their girls are all milliners, mantua-makers, or lady's women; or preſumptuouſly exerciſe that genteel profeſſion, which uſed to be peculiarly reſerved for the politely-educated, but unportioned daughters of their ſuperiors. Attorneys clerks and city prentices dreſs like cornets of dragoons, keep their miſtreſſes

treſſes and their hunters, criticiſe at the play, and toaſt at the tavern. The merchant leaves his compting-houſe for St. James's; and the country-gentleman his own affairs for thoſe of the public, by which neither of them receive much benefit. Every commoner of diſtinction is impatient for a peerage, and treads hard upon the heels of quality in dreſs, equipage and expences of every kind. The nobility, who can aim no higher, plunge themſelves into debt and dependance, to preſerve their rank; and are even there quickly overtaken by their unmerciful purſuers.

The ſame fooliſh vanity, that thus prompts us to imitate our ſuperiors, induces us alſo to be, or pretend to be, their inſeparable companions; or as the phraſe is, to keep the *beſt company*; by which is always to be underſtood, ſuch company as are much above us in rank or fortune, and conſequently deſpiſe and avoid us, in the ſame manner as we ourſelves do our inferiors.

inferiors. By this ridiculous affectation are all the pleaſures of ſocial life, and all the advantages of friendly converſe utterly deſtroyed. We chuſe not our companions for their wit and learning, their good humour or good ſenſe, but for their power of conferring this imaginary dignity: as if greatneſs was communicable, like the powers of the load-ſtone, by friction, or by contact, like electricity. Every young gentleman is taught to believe it is more eligible, and more honourable, to deſtroy his time, his fortune, his morals, and his underſtanding at a gaming-houſe with the *beſt company*, than to improve them all in the converſation of the moſt ingenious and entertaining of his equals; and every ſelf-conceited girl in faſhionable life, chuſes rather to endure the affected ſilence and inſolent head-ach of my lady ducheſs for a whole evening, than to paſs it in mirth and jollity with the moſt amiable of her acquaintance. For ſince it is poſſible that ſome of my

readers

readers who have not had the honour of being admitted into the *beſt company*, ſhould imagine that amongſt ſuch there is ever the beſt converſation, the moſt lively wit, the moſt profound judgment, the moſt engaging affability and politeneſs; it may be proper to inform them, that this is by no means always the caſe; but that frequently in ſuch company little is ſaid and leſs attended to; no diſpoſition appears either to pleaſe others, or to be pleaſed themſelves; but that in the room of all the before-mentioned agreeable qualifications, cards are introduced, endued with the convenient power of reducing all men's underſtandings, as well as their fortunes, to an equality.

It is pleaſant to obſerve how this race, converted into a kind of perpetual warfare between the *good* and *bad company* in this country, has ſubſiſted for half a century laſt paſt; in which the former have been perpetually purſued by the latter, and fairly beaten out of all their reſources

for ſuperior diſtinction; out of innumerable faſhions in dreſs, and variety of diverſions, every one of which they have been obliged to abandon, as ſoon as occupied by their impertinent rivals. In vain have they armed themſelves with lace and embroidery, and intrenched themſelves in hoops and furbelows: in vain have they had recourſe to full-bottomed periwigs, and toupees; to high-heads, and low-heads, and no heads at all: trade has beſtowed riches on their competitors, and riches have procured them equal finery. Hair has curled as genteely on one ſide of Temple-bar, as on the other, and hoops have grown to as prodigious a magnitude in the foggy air of Cheapſide, as in the purer regions of Groſvenor-ſquare and Hill-ſtreet.

With as little ſucceſs have opera's, oratorio's, ridotto's, and other expenſive diverſions been invented to exclude *bad company*: tradeſmen, by enhancing their prices, have found tickets for their wives and

and daughters, and by this means have been enabled to inſult the *good company*, their cuſtomers, at their own expence: and like true conquerors, have obliged the enemy to pay for their defeat. But this ſtratagem has in ſome meaſure been obviviated by the prudence of the *very beſt company*, who, for this, and many other wiſe conſiderations, have uſually declined paying them at all.

For many years was this combat between the *good* and *bad company* of this metropolis performed, like the ancient tilts and tournaments, before his Majeſty and the Royal Family, every Friday night in the drawing-room at St. James's, which now appears, as it uſually fares with the ſeat of war, deſolate and uninhabited, and totally deſerted on both ſides: except that on a twelfth-night, the *bad company* never fail to aſſemble, to commemorate annually the victories they have there obtained.

The *good company* being thus every

where put to flight, they thought proper at laſt to retire to their own citadels; that is, to form numerous and brilliant aſſemblies at their own hotels, in which they imagined that they could neither be imitated nor intruded on. But here again they were grievouſly miſtaken; for no ſooner was the ſignal given, but every little lodging-houſe in town, of two rooms and a cloſet on a floor, or rather of two cloſets and a cupboard, teemed with card-tables, and overflowed with company: and as making a crowd was the great point here principally aimed at, the ſmaller the houſes, and the more indifferent the company, this point was the more eaſily effected. Nor could intruſion be better guarded againſt, than imitation; for by ſome means or other, either by the force of beauty or of dreſs, of wealth or impudence, of folly enough to loſe great ſums at play, or of knavery enough to win them, or of ſome ſuch eminent and extraordinary qualifications, their plebeian enemies

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ſoon broke through the ſtrongeſt of their barriers, and mingled in the thickeſt of their ranks, to the utter deſtruction of all ſuperiority and diſtinction.

But though it muſt be owned that the affairs of the *good company* are now in a very bad ſituation, yet I would not have them deſpair, nor perpetually carry about the marks of their defeat in their countenances, ſo viſible in a mixture of *fierté* and dejection. They have ſtill one aſylum left to fly to, which with all their advantages of birth and education, it is ſurpriſing they ſhould not long ſince have diſcovered; but ſince they have not, I ſhall beg leave to point it out; and it is this: that they once more retire to the long deſerted forts of true Britiſh grandeur, their princely ſeats and magnificent caſtles in their ſeveral countries, and there, arming themſelves with religion and virtue, hoſpitality and charity, civility and friendſhip, bid defiance to their impertinent purſuers: and though I will not un-

dertake that they ſhall not, even here, be followed in time, and imitated by their inferiors, yet ſo averſe are all ranks of people at preſent to this ſort of retirement, ſo totally diſuſed from the exerciſe of theſe kinds of arms, and ſo unwilling to return to it, that I will venture to promiſe, it will be very long before they can be overtaken or attacked; but that here, and here only, they may enjoy their favourite ſingularity, unmoleſted for half a century to come.

THE

WORLD.

NUMBER CLIII.

HAVING been frequently preſſed by Sir John Jolly, (an old friend of mine poſſeſſed of a fine ſeat, a large park, and a plentiful eſtate) to paſs a few weeks with him in the country, I determined laſt autumn to accept his invitation, propoſing to myſelf the higheſt pleaſure from changing the noiſe and hurry of this buſtling metropolis, for the agreeable ſilence, and ſoothing indolence of a rural retirement. I accordingly ſet out one morning, and pretty early the next arrived at the habitation of my friend, ſituated in a moſt delicious and romantic ſpot, which (the owner having fortunately no TASTE) is

not yet defaced by IMPROVEMENTS. On my approach, I abated a little of my travelling pace, to look round me, and admire the tow'ring hills, and fertile vales, the winding ſtreams, the ſtately woods, and ſpacious lawns, which, gilded by the ſunſhine of a beautiful morning, on every ſide afforded a moſt enchanting proſpect; and I pleaſed myſelf with the thoughts of the happy hours I ſhould ſpend amidſt theſe paſtoral ſcenes, in reading, in meditation, or in ſoft repoſe, inſpired by the lowing of diſtant herds, the falls of waters, and the melody of birds.

I was received with a hearty welcome, and many ſhakes by the hand by my old friend, whom I had not ſeen for many years, except once when he was called to town by a proſecution in the King's bench, for miſunderſtanding the ſenſe of an act of parliament, which, on examination, was found to be nonſenſe. He is an honeſt gentleman of a middle age, a hale conſtitution, good natural parts, and abundant

abundant ſpirits; a keen ſportſman, an active magiſtrate, and a tolerable farmer, not without ſome ambition of acquiring a ſeat in parliament, by his intereſt in a neighbouring borough: ſo that between his purſuits of game, of juſtice, and popularity, beſides the management of a large quantity of land, which he keeps in his own hands, as he terms it, for amuſement, every moment of his time is ſufficiently employed. His wife is an agreeable woman, of about the ſame age, and has been handſome; but though years have ſomewhat impaired her charms, they have not in the leaſt her reliſh for company, cards, balls, and all manner of public diverſions.

On my arrival, I was firſt conducted into the breakfaſt-room, which, with ſome ſurpriſe, I ſaw quite filled with genteel perſons of both ſexes, in diſhabille, with their hair in papers; the cauſe of which I was quickly informed of, by the many apologies of my lady for the meanneſs of the apartment

apartment ſhe was obliged to allot me, "By reaſon the houſe was ſo crouded with "company during the time of their races, "which, ſhe ſaid, began that very day for "the whole week, and for which they were "immediately preparing." I was inſtantly attacked by all preſent with one voice, or rather with many voices at the ſame time, to accompany them thither; to which I made no oppoſition, thinking it would be attended with more trouble than the expedition itſelf.

A ſoon as the ladies and the equipages were ready, we iſſued forth in a moſt magnificent cavalcade; and after travelling five or ſix miles through bad roads, we arrived at the Red Lion, juſt as the ordinary was making its appearance on the table. The ceremonials of this ſumptuous entertainment, which conſiſted of cold fiſh, lean chickens, ruſty hams, raw veniſon, ſtale game, green fruit, and grapeleſs wines, deſtroyed at leaſt two hours, with five times that number of heads, ruffles, and

ſuits of cloaths, by the unfortunate effuſion of butter and gravy. From hence we proceeded a few miles farther to the race-ground, where nothing, I think, extraordinary happened, but that amongſt much diſorder and drunkenneſs, few limbs, and no necks were broken: and from theſe Olympic games, which, to the great emolument of pick-pockets, laſted till it was dark, we galloped back to the town through a ſoaking ſhower, to dreſs for the aſſembly. But this I found no eaſy taſk; nor could I poſſibly accompliſh it, before my cloaths were quite dried upon my back; my ſervant ſtaying behind to ſettle his betts, and having ſtowed my portmanteau into the boot of ſome coach, which he could not find, to ſave himſelf both the trouble and indignity of carrying it.

Being at laſt equipped, I entered the ball-room, where the ſmell of a ſtable over which it was built, the ſavour of the neighbouring kitchen, the fumes of tallow candles, rum punch, and tobacco diſperſed

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over the whole houſe, and the balſamic effluvia's from many ſweet creatures who were dancing, with almoſt equal ſtrength contended for ſuperiority. The company was numerous and well-dreſt, and differed not in any reſpect from that of the moſt brilliant aſſembly in London, but in ſeeming better pleaſed, and more deſirous of pleaſing; that is, happier in themſelves, and civiller to each other. I obſerved the door was blocked up the whole night by a few faſhionable young men, whoſe faces I remember to have ſeen about town, who would neither dance, drink tea, play at cards, nor ſpeak to any one, except now and then in whiſpers to a young lady, who ſat in ſilence at the upper end of the room, in a hat and negligee, with her back againſt the wall, her arms a-kimbo, her legs thruſt out, a ſneer on her lips, a ſcowl on her forehead, and an invincible aſſurance in her eyes. This lady I had alſo frequently met with, but could not then recollect where; but have

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ſince learnt, that ſhe had been toad-eater to a woman of quality, and turned off for too cloſe and preſumptuous an imitation of her betters. Their behaviour affronted moſt of the company, yet obtained the deſired effect: for I overheard ſeveral of the country ladies ſay "It was a pity "they were ſo proud; for to be ſure they "were prodigious well-bred people, and "had an immenſe deal of wit." A miſtake they could never have fallen into, had theſe patterns of politeneſs condeſcended to have entered into any converſation. Dancing and cards, with the refreſhment of cold chickens and negus about twelve, carried us on till day-break, when our coaches being ready, with much ſolicitation, and more ſqueezing, I obtained a place in one, in which no more than ſix had before artifically ſeated themſelves; and about five in the morning, through many and great perils, we arrived ſafely at home.

It was now the middle of harveſt, which

which had not a little ſuffered by our diverſions; and therefore our coach-horſes were immediately degraded to a cart; and having reſted during our fatigues, by a juſt diſtribution of things, were now obliged to labour, while we were at reſt. I mean not in this number to include myſelf; for, though I hurried immediately to bed, no reſt could I obtain for ſome time, for the rumbling of carts, and the converſation of their drivers juſt under my window. Fatigue at length got the better of all obſtacles, and I fell aſleep; but had ſcarce cloſed my eyes, when I was awaked by a much louder noiſe, which was that of a whole pack of hounds, with their vociferous attendants, ſetting out to meet my friend, and ſome choice ſpirits, whom we had juſt left behind at the aſſembly, and who choſe this manner of refreſhment after a night's debauch, rather than the more uſual and inglorious one of going to bed. Theſe ſounds dying away by their diſtance, I again compoſed myſelf to reſt; but

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was preſently again rouſed by more diſcordant tongues, uttering all the groſſneſs of Drury-lane, and ſcurrility of Billinſgate. I now waked indeed with ſomewhat more ſatisfaction, at firſt thinking, by this unpaſtoral dialogue, that I was once more returned ſafe to London; but I ſoon perceived my miſtake, and underſtood that theſe were ſome innocent and honeſt neighbours of Sir John's, who were coming to determine their gentle diſputes before his tribunal, and being ordered to wait till his return from hunting, were reſolved to make all poſſible uſe of this ſuſpenſion of juſtice. It being now towards noon, I gave up all thoughts of ſleep; and it was well I did; for I was preſently alarmed by a confuſion of voices, as loud, though ſomewhat ſweeter than the former. As they proceeded from the parlour under me, amidſt much giggling, laughing, ſqueaking, and ſcreaming, I could diſtinguiſh only the few following incoherent words — *horrible* — *frightful* — *ridiculous* —

Frieſland

Frieſland hen — rouge — Red Lion at Brentford — ſtays padded — ram's-horn — ſaucy minx — impertinent coxcomb. I ſtarted up, dreſſed me, and went down, where I found the ſame polite company, who breakfaſted there the day before, in the ſame attitude, diſcourſing of their friends, with whom they had ſo agreeably ſpent the laſt night, and to whom they were again haſtening with the utmoſt impatience. I was ſaluted with a how d'ye from them all at the ſame inſtant, and again preſſed into the ſervice of the day.

In this manner I went through the perſecutions of the whole week, with the ſufferings and reſolution, but not with the reward of a martyr, as I found no peace at the laſt: for at the concluſion of it, Sir John obligingly requeſted me to make my ſtay with him as long as I poſſibly could, aſſuring me, that though the races were now over, I ſhould not want diverſions; for that next week he expected Lord Rattle, Sir Harry Bumper, and a large

large fox-hunting party; and that the week after being the full moon, they ſhould pay and receive all their neighbouring viſits, and ſpend their evenings very ſociably together; by which is ſignified, in the country dialect, eating, drinking, and playing at cards all night. My lady added with a ſmile, and much delight in her eyes, that ſhe believed they ſhould not be alone one hour in the whole week, and that ſhe hoped I ſhould not think the country ſo dull and melancholy a place as I expected. Upon this information I reſolved to leave it immediately, and told them, I was extremely ſorry that I was hindered by particular buſineſs from any longer enjoying ſo much polite and agreeable company; but that I had received a letter, which made it neceſſary for me to be in town. My friend ſaid he was no leſs concerned; but that I muſt not poſitively go, till after to-morrow; for that he then expected the mayor and aldermen of his corporation, ſome of whom

were facetious companions, and ſung well. This determined me to ſet out that very evening; which I did with much ſatisfaction; and made all poſſible haſte, in ſearch of ſilence and ſolitude, to my lodgings, next door to a braſier's, at Charing-croſs.

THE

WORLD.

NUMBER CLVII.

ONE can ſcarce paſs an hour in any company, without hearing it frequently aſſerted, that the preſent generation of ſervants in this country are the proudeſt, and the lazieſt, the moſt profligate, inſolent, and extravagant ſet of mortals any where to be found on the face of the globe: to which indiſputable truth I always readily give my aſſent, with but one ſingle exception, which is that of their maſters and ladies. Now, though by this exception I have incurred the contemptuous ſmiles of many a wiſe face, and the indignant frowns of many a pretty one, yet I ſhall here venture to ſhew, that the

pride and lazineſs of our ſervants, from whence their profligacy, inſolence, and extravagance muſt unavoidably proceed, are entirely owing, not only to our example, but to our cultivation, and are but the natural productions of the ſame imperfections in ourſelves.

In the firſt place then, pride has put it into our heads, that it is moſt honourable to be waited on by gentlemen and ladies; and all, who are really ſuch by birth or education, having alſo too much of the ſame pride, however neceſſitous, to ſubmit to any ſervitude however eaſy, we are obliged to take the loweſt of the people, and convert them by our own ingenuity into the genteel perſonages, we think proper ſhould attend us. Hence our very footmen are adorned with gold and ſilver, with bags, toupees, and ruffles: the valet de chambre cannot be diſtinguiſhed from his maſter, but by being better dreſt; and Joan, who uſed to be but *as good as my lady in the dark*, is now by no means her inferior

inferior in the day-light. In great families I have frequently intreated the *maitre d'Hotel* to go before me, and have pulled a chair for the butler, imagining them to be part, and not the leaſt genteel part of the company. Their diverſions too are no leſs polite than their appearance; in the country they are ſportſmen, in town they frequent plays, operas, and taverns, and at home have their routs and their gaming-tables.

But leſt thus exalting our ſervants to an equality with ourſelves ſhould not ſufficiently augment their pride, and deſtroy all ſubordination, we take another method ſtill more effectually to compleat the work, which is, debaſing ourſelves to their meanneſs by a ridiculous imitation of their dreſſes and occupations. Hence were derived the flapped hat, and cropped hair, the green frock, the long ſtaff, and buckſkin breeches: hence, amongſt the ladies, the round-eared cap, the ſtuff night-gown, white apron, and black lea-

ther ſhoe: and hence many perſons of the higheſt rank daily employ themſelves in riding matches, driving coaches, or in running before them, in order to convince their domeſtics how greatly they are inferior to them in the execution of theſe honourable offices. Since then we make uſe of ſo much art to corrupt our ſervants, have we reaſon to be angry with their concurrence? Since we take ſo much pains to inform them of their ſuperiority, and our weakneſs, can we be ſurpriſed that they deſpiſe us, or diſpleaſed with their inſolence and impertinence?

As the pride of ſervants thus proceeds from the pride, ſo does their lazineſs from the lazineſs, of their maſters: and indeed, if there is any characteriſtic peculiar to the young people of faſhion of the preſent age, it is their lazineſs, or an extreme unwillingneſs to attend to any thing that can give them the leaſt trouble or diſquietude; without any degree of which they would fain enjoy all the luxuries of life, in contradiction

tradiction to the diſpoſitions of providence, and the nature of things. They would have great eſtates without any management, great expences without any accounts, and great families without any diſcipline or œconomy; in ſhort, they are fit only to be inhabitants of *Lubberland*, where, as the child's geography informs us, men lie upon their backs with their mouths open, and it rains fat pigs, ready roaſted. From this principle, when the pride they have infuſed into their ſervants has produced a proportionable degree of lazineſs, their own lazineſs is too prevalent to ſuffer them to ſtruggle with that of their ſervants; and they rather chuſe that all buſineſs ſhould be neglected, than to enforce the performance of it; and to give up all authority, rather than take the pains to ſupport it: from whence it happens, that in great and noble families, where the domeſtics are very numerous, they will not ſo much as wait upon themſelves; and was it not for the friendly aſſiſtance of

chair-women, porters, chair-men, and ſhoe-blacks, procured by a generous diſtribution of coals, candles, and proviſions, the common offices of life could never be executed. In ſuch it is often as difficult to procure conveniences, as in a deſart iſland; and one frequently wants neceſſaries in the midſt of profuſeneſs and extravagance. In ſuch families I have ſometimes been ſhut up in a cold room, and interdicted from the uſe of fire and water for half a day; and, though during my impriſonment I have ſeen numberleſs ſervants continually paſſing by, the utmoſt I could procure of them was, a promiſe that they would ſend ſomebody to relieve my neceſſities, which they never performed. In ſuch I have ſeen when a favourite dog has diſcharged a too plentiful dinner in the drawing-room, at the frequent ringing of the bell numerous attendants make their appearance, all intreated to depute ſome one to remove the nuiſance with the utmoſt expedition, but

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no one has been found in ſuch a houſe mean enough to undertake ſuch an employment; and ſo it has lain ſmoaking under the noſes of the illuſtrious company during the whole evening.

I could produce innumerable inſtances, minute indeed and unobſerved, but well worthy obſervation, of the encroachments of our ſervants on our eaſineſs and indolence, in the introduction of moſt of the faſhions that have prevailed for ſeveral years paſt in our equipages, and domeſtic œconomy; all which are entirely calculated for their pleaſure, eaſe, or advantage, in direct contradiction to our own. To mention but few: our coaches are made uneaſy, but light, that they may whirl us along with the utmoſt rapidity, for their own amuſement. Glaſſes before are laid aſide, and we are immured in the dark, that the coachman may no longer be under our inſpection, but be drunk or aſleep without any obſervation. Family liveries are diſcarded, becauſe badges of ſervility,

which

which might give information to whom their wearers belonged, and to whom complaints might be addreſſed of their enormities. By their careleſſneſs and idleneſs they have obliged us to hire all our horſes, and ſo have got rid of the labour of looking after them. By their impoſitions on the road they have forced us into poſt-chaiſes, by which means they are at liberty to travel by themſelves, as it beſt ſuits their own eaſe and convenience. By their impertinence, which we have not patience to endure, nor reſolution to repreſs, they have reduced us to dumb-waiters, that is, to wait upon ourſelves; by which means they have ſhaken off the trouble and condeſcenſion of attending us. By their profuſion and miſmanagement in houſe-keeping, they have compelled us to allow them board-wages; by which means they have obtained a conſtant excuſe to loiter at public-houſes, and money in their pockets to ſquander there in gaming, drunkenneſs, and extravagance.

The laſt of theſe is an evil of ſo gigantic a ſize, ſo conducive to the univerſal corruption of the lower part of this nation, and ſo entirely deſtructive of all family order, decency, and œconomy, that it well deſerves the conſideration of a legiſlature, who are not themſelves under the influence of their ſervants, and can pay them their wages without any inconvenience.

From what has been ſaid, it plainly appears, that every man in this country is ill-ſerved in proportion to the number and dignity of his ſervants; the parſon or the tradeſman, who keeps but two maids and a boy, not exceeding twelve years old, is uſually very well waited on; the private gentleman infinitely worſe; but perſons of great fortunes or quality, afraid of the idols of their own ſetting up, are neglected, abuſed, and impoveriſhed by their dependents; and the King himſelf, as is due to his exalted ſtation, is more impoſed on, and worſe attended, than any one of his ſubjects.

THE

WORLD.

NUMBER CLXIII.

THERE was an ancient ſect of philoſophers, the diſciples of Pythagoras, who held, that the ſouls of men, and all other animals exiſted in a ſtate of perpetual tranſmigration; and that when by death they were diſlodged from one corporeal habitation, they were immediately reinſtated in another, happier or more miſerable, according to their behaviour in the former: ſo that when any perſon made his exit from the ſtage of this world, he was ſuppoſed only to retire behind the ſcenes to be new dreſſed, and to have had a new part aſſigned him, more or leſs

leſs agreeable, in proportion to the merit of his performance in the laſt.

This doctrine of tranſmigration, I muſt own, was always a very favourite tenet of mine, and always appeared to me one of the moſt rational gueſſes of the human mind into a future ſtate. I ſhall here therefore endeavour to ſhew the great probability of its truth, from the following conſiderations. Firſt from its juſtice, ſecondly from its utility, and laſtly from the difficulty we lie under to account for the ſufferings of many innocent creatures without it.

Firſt then, the juſtice of this ſyſtem exceeds that of all others; becauſe by it the great law of retaliation may be more ſtrictly adhered to: for by means of this metamorphoſis, men may ſuffer in one life the very ſame injuries which they have inflicted in another; and that too in the very ſame perſons, by a change only of ſituation. Thus, for inſtance, the cruel tyrant who in one life has ſported with

the miſeries of his ſlaves, may in the next feel all the miſeries of ſlavery under a maſter as unmerciful as himſelf. The relentleſs and unjuſt judge may be impriſoned, condemned, and hanged in his turn. Divines may be compelled by fire and faggot to believe the creeds and articles they have compoſed for the edification of others; and ſoldiers may be plundered and raviſhed in the perſons of defenceleſs peaſants, and innocent virgins. The lawyer reviving in the character of a client, may be tormented with delay, expence, uncertainty, and diſappointment; and the phyſician, who in one life has taken exorbitant fees, may be obliged to take phyſic in another. All thoſe who under the honourable denomination of ſportſmen, have entertained themſelves with the miſeries and deſtruction of innocent animals, may be terrified and murdered in the ſhapes of hares, partridges, and woodcocks; and all thoſe, who under the more illuſtrious title of heroes, have

delighted

delighted in the devaſtation of their own ſpecies, may be maſſacred by each other in the forms of invincible game-cocks, and pertinacious bull dogs. As for ſtateſmen, miniſters, and all great men devoted to great buſineſs, they, however guilty, cannot be more properly, nor more ſeverely puniſhed, than by being obliged to reaſſume their former characters, and to live the very ſame lives over again.

In the next place, the utility of this ſyſtem is equal to its juſtice, and happily coincides with it: for by means of this tranſmigration, all the neceſſary inconveniences, and all the burthenſome offices of life being impoſed on thoſe only, who by their miſbehaviour in a former ſtate have deſerved them, become at once juſt puniſhments to them, and at the ſame time benefits to ſociety; and ſo all thoſe who have injured the public in one life by their vices, are obliged in another to make reparation by their ſufferings. Thus the tyrant, who by his power has oppreſſed his country

country in the ſituation of a prince, in that of a ſlave may be compelled to do it ſome ſervice by his labour. The highwayman who has ſtopped and plundered travellers, may expedite and aſſiſt them in the ſhape of a poſt-horſe. The metaphorical buck, who has terrified ſober citizens by his exploits, converted into a real one, may make them ſome compenſation by his haunches; and mighty conquerors, who have laid waſte the world by their ſwords, may be obliged, by a ſmall alteration in ſex and ſituation, to contribute to its repeopling by the qualms of breeding, and the pains of child-birth.

For my own part, I verily believe this to be the caſe. I make no doubt but that Louis the Fourteenth is now chained to an oar in the gallies of France, and that Hernando Cortez is digging gold in the mines of Peru or Mexico. That Turpin the highwayman is ſeveral times a day ſpurred backwards and forwards between London and Epping; and that Lord *** and

and Sir Harry **** are now actually roaſting for a city feaſt. I queſtion not but that Alexander the Great and Julius Cæſar have died many times in child-bed ſince their appearance in thoſe illuſtrious and depopulating characters; that Charles the Twelfth is at this inſtant a curate's wife in ſome remote village, with a numerous and increaſing family; and that Kouli Khan is now whipped from pariſh to pariſh in the perſon of a big-bellied beggar-woman, with two children in her arms, and three at her back.

Laſtly, the probability of this ſyſtem appears from the difficulty of accounting for the ſufferings of many innocent creatures without it: for if we look around us, we cannot but obſerve a great and wretched variety of this kind; numberleſs animals ſubjected, by their own natures, to many miſeries, and by our cruelties to many more; incapable of crimes, and conſequently incapable of deſerving them; called into being, as far as we can diſ-

cover, only to be miſerable for the ſervice or diverſion of others leſs meritorious than themſelves; without any poſſibility of preventing, deſerving, or receiving recompence for their unhappy lot, if their whole exiſtence is comprehended in the narrow and wretched circle of their preſent life. But the theory here inculcated, removes all theſe difficulties, and reconciles all theſe ſeemingly unjuſt diſpenſations with the ſtricteſt juſtice: it informs us, that theſe their ſufferings may be by no means undeſerved, but the juſt puniſhments of their former miſbehaviour in a ſtate, where, by means of their very vices, they may have eſcaped them. It teaches us that the purſued and perſecuted fox was once probably ſome crafty and rapacious miniſter, who had purchaſed by his ill-acquired wealth that ſafety, which he cannot now procure by his flight: that the bull, baited with all the cruelties that human ingenuity or human malevolence can invent, was once ſome relentleſs tyrant, who had inflicted all

the

the tortures which he now endures: that the poor bird, blinded, impriſoned, and at laſt ſtarved to death in a cage, may have been ſome unforgiving creditor; and the widowed turtle, pining away life for the loſs of her mate, ſome faſhionable wife rejoicing at the death of her huſband, which her own ill-uſage had occaſioned.

Never can the delicious repaſt of roaſted lobſters excite my appetite, whilſt the ideas of the tortures in which thoſe innocent creatures have expired, preſent themſelves to my imagination. But when I conſider that they muſt have once probably been Spaniards at Mexico, or Dutchmen at Amboyna, I fall to, both with a good ſtomach and a good conſcience, and pleaſe myſelf with the thoughts, that I am thus offering up a ſacrifice acceptable to the manes of many millions of maſſacred Indians. Never can I repoſe myſelf with ſatisfaction in a poſt-chaiſe, whilſt I look upon the ſtarved, foundered, ulcerated, and excoriated animals, who draw it, as

mere horſes, condemned to ſuch exquiſite and unmerited torments for my convenience; but when I reflect, that they once muſt undoubtedly have exiſted in the characters of turnkeys of Newgate, or fathers of the holy inquiſition, I gallop on with as much eaſe as expedition; and am perfectly ſatisfied, that in purſuing my journey, I am but the executioner of the ſtricteſt juſtice.

I very well know that theſe ſentiments will be treated as ludicrous by many of my readers, and looked upon only as the productions of an exuberant imagination; but I know likewiſe, that this is owing to ill-grounded pride, and falſe notions of the dignity of human nature: for they are in themſelves juſt and ſerious, and carry with them the ſtrongeſt probability of their truth; ſo ſtrong is it, that I cannot but hope it will have ſome good effect on the conduct of thoſe polite people, who are too ſagacious, learned, and courageous to be kept in awe by the the threats of hell

and

and damnation: and I exhort every fine lady to conſider how wretched will be her condition, if after twenty or thirty years ſpent at cards, in elegant rooms, kept warm by good fires and ſoft carpets, ſhe ſhould at laſt be obliged to change places with one of her coach-horſes; and every fine gentleman to reflect how much more wretched would be his, if, after waſting his eſtate, his health, and his life in extravagance, indolence, and luxury, he ſhould again revive in the ſituation of one of his creditors.

THE

WORLD.

NUMBER CLXXVIII.

NOT long ſince, I met at St. James's coffee-houſe, an old acquaintance of mine, Sir Harry Prigg; who having been long ruſticated and much altered, I ſhould never have recollected, had it not been for the information of a fine old coat, in which I remembered him to have made a figure about town many years ago. After the uſual civilities had paſſed between us, amongſt many other queſtions, he aſked me when I had ſeen our old ſchool-fellow, Sir John Jolly *. I anſwered, that I had laſt ſummer ſpent ſome days with him at

* See Number 153.

his

his country-ſeat, in a manner which would have been highly agreeable to a perſon of a more faſhionable turn, but was to me rather fatiguing from its exceſs of gaiety and hoſpitality, which, according to my unpolite taſte, were by no means conſiſtent with the ſoft and ſerious pleaſures of a rural retirement. He ſaid, he perfectly agreed with me in my ſentiments, and paſſed his time in the country in conformity to them: his manner of life, he was ſure, would exactly ſuit me, and obligingly begged I would make the experiment; adding, that he ſhould go down in a few days, and would carry me with him in his chariot. I accepted his invitation, not ſo much out of inclination, as curioſity to ſee a new ſcene of country life, formed on principles ſo oppoſite to what I had before experienced, and promiſed to attend him at the time appointed.

But firſt it will be proper to give ſome account of the birth, parentage, and education of my friend. He came young to

his title, and a ſmall eſtate, and was ſoon after ſent to the univerſity; where his title abſurdly giving him the rank of nobility, and his eſtate, though ſmall, an allowance ſufficient to ſupport that rank at that place, he there contracted an affectation of grandeur, and a pert kind of ſelf-importance, which he has ever ſince retained, and which neither poverty nor ſolitude has yet been able to conquer. Having in two or three years acquired the uſual advantages of that ſort of education, ſuch as the arts of ſporting, toaſting, billiards, and coachmanſhip, he came to London, entered into the gay world, and had addreſs and qualifications ſufficient to introduce himſelf into what he ſtill calls the beſt company; that is, the company of ſmarts, bucks, jockeys, and gameſters. Nor was he deficient in point of gallantry; for he ſoon commenced an intrigue with the ſiſter of one of theſe his friends. Whether his intentions were at firſt honourable, is not perfectly clear; but

but he was quickly obliged to declare them ſo, being acquainted, that a lady of her rank was not to be trifled with, and that he muſt either fight or marry; the latter of which he courageouſly choſe, as being the moſt daring action of the two. This lady had more gentility than beauty, more beauty than underſtanding, more underſtanding than fortune, and a fortune about equal to her reputation. She was tall and well-ſhaped, carried her head very high, and being the younger daughter of the younger ſon of the firſt couſin of an Iriſh baron, looked upon herſelf as a woman of quality. In a little time Sir Harry heartily hated her for compelling him to marry: and ſhe no leſs deſpiſed him for being compelled: ſo that finding little happineſs at home, they were obliged to ſeek it abroad at plays and routs, operas and gaming-tables, at no ſmall expence. This could not continue long; ſo that before one winter was at an end, they diſcovered that the town air would not

agree

agree with them, and ſo retired to their country ſeat, about forty miles from London; whither I ſhall now conduct my reader.

On the morning appointed, I attended early at their lodgings in town, where I found the poſt-chariot at the door, and my friend ſtanding by it, with a long whip in his hand, ready to mount the box; ſaying at the ſame time, that coachmen were ſuch inſolent and expenſive raſcals, there was no keeping them, and that therefore he always choſe to be his own. In the parlour ſat my lady and Colonel Macſhean, a gentleman who had long been very intimate with Sir Harry, and not leſs ſo with her ladyſhip; and in the paſſage ſtood a French woman, in a ſack and long ruffles, with her arms full of band-boxes and bundles; which were no ſooner diſpoſed of in various parts of the chariot, than my lady and myſelf, with her woman on a low ſtool at our feet, were ſtuffed into the little room that was left.

Sir

Sir Harry mounted the box, his valet de chambre rode by, and a ſniveling footboy climbed up behind. Thus the the whole family, with their baggage, and myſelf into the bargain, were conveyed without the expence of either a ſtage-coach or a waggon.

Nothing paſſed during our journey worth relating. Her ladyſhip ſpoke little, and that little was only complaints of her bad nerves, and ill ſtate of health; to which, having no expectation of a fee, I paid little attention. They both declared, that nobody but a carrier would dine at an inn, wherefore they never ſtopped on the road; ſo with the aſſiſtance of a freſh pair of horſes, that had come twenty miles that morning without a bait, about ſunſet we arrived at our journey's end. The Colonel got there before us, having rode poſt: for Sir Harry frequently declared to us both, that though his friends were welcome, he never entertained their horſes; that it was not the faſhion of that country;

country; neither my Lord **, nor the Duke of ***, nor himſelf did it.

It was not long before the dinner made its appearance; which was ſo very genteel, that had it not been rendered uneatable by a bad affectation of French cookery, it would not have been half ſufficient, after ſo many miles travelling, and ſo long faſting. At the concluſion we had mead, which paſſed for tokay, and elder wine, which Sir Harry ſwore was the beſt Burgundy in England, and that he himſelf had imported it, in conjunction with a noble lord in the neighbourhood. Over a glaſs of this, the cloth being removed, he informed us, "that when the ſmoke "of London, and the bad hours incident "to keeping good company, would no "longer agree with his own or his wife's "conſtitution, he had determined to ſeek "health and quiet in an elegant retire-"ment. He had been offered indeed a "ſeat in parliament, and a conſiderable "employment; but his crazy conſtitution "would

" would not permit him to accept of the
" one, nor his ſound principles of the
" other. Retirement was their object;
" therefore all they dreaded was the hor-
" rible irruptions of a country neighbour-
" hood; but this they had happily pre-
" vented. That indeed on their firſt
" coming, every family within ten miles
" round, tormented them with their im-
" pertinent viſits; but they returned none,
" affronted them all, and ſo got rid of
" them. Don't you think we did right, my
" dear?" turning to his wife. " I think,"
anſwered ſhe in a ſurly and dejected voice,
" that it is better to forget the uſe of
" one's tongue, than to converſe with
" ſquires wives, and parſons daughters."
" You are right, madam," added the Co-
lonel, with an oath and a loud laugh;
" for what can one learn in ſuch a damned
" company?" " To-morrow," ſays my
friend, addreſſing himſelf to me, " you
" ſhall ſee that we want no company, and
" that we can ſufficiently amuſe ourſelves

" with

" with building and planting, with im-
" provements and alterations, which I dare
" ſay will be honoured with your appro-
" bation."

Accordingly the next morning, as ſoon as breakfaſt was finiſhed, my lady and the Colonel retired into her dreſſing-room to cribbage, and Sir Harry and myſelf to reconnoitre the place. The houſe ſtands at the end of a dirty village, and cloſe by it are a few tame deer, impounded in an orchard, to which he gives the pompous title of a park. Behind is a fen, which he calls a piece of water, and before it a gooſe-common, on which he beſtows the name of a lawn. It was built in that deplorable æra of Engliſh architecture which introduced high doors, long windows, ſmall rooms, and corner chimneys; and of gardening, which projected gravel walks, clipt yews, and ſtrait-lined avenues, with a profuſion of brick walls, iron paliſado's and leaden images. But all theſe defects, and many others, he has

now corrected by a judicious application of modern taſte. His doors are ſo reduced, you cannot enter with your hat on; and his windows are ſo contracted, that you have ſcarce light enough to find it, if you pull it off. In the midſt of the front, one large bow-window is ſtuck on, reſembling a piece of whited brown paper plaiſtered on a broken noſe; and a great room is added behind to dine in, which, was it ever inhabited, would make all the little ones appear ſtill leſs: but having never yet been furniſhed, for want both of caſh and credit, it remains at preſent only a repoſitory for broken china, a pair of backgammon tables, and children's play-things. His brick-walls are converted into chimneys and ovens, and his yew-trees ſupply them with faggots: his iron-work is ſold to the blackſmiths, and his heathen gods to the plumber, for the pious uſe of covering the pariſh-church: his gravel walks are ſown with graſs; and he frequently repeats that frugal, yet gen-

teel

ſteel maxim, that ſheep are the beſt gardeners. His horſe-pond being made ſerpentine, is become uſeleſs, leſt it ſhould be trod up; and his fences, being all Chineſe, are no fences at all; the horſes leaping over, and the hogs walking under them at their pleaſure. The tranſplanted avenue is expiring in leafleſs platoons; the kitchen-garden, for conveniency, is removed two furlongs from the houſe; and the kitchen itſelf unjuſtly turned out of doors, for ſmelling of victuals; a crime of which it has ever been acquitted by the voice of the whole country.

When our ſurvey was finiſhed, our amuſements were all at an end; for within doors the pleaſures both of ſociety and ſolitude were equally wanting. Of our converſation I have given a ſpecimen; and books there were none, except a ſmall one containing tunes for the French horn, belonging to Sir Harry, and the third volume of Peregrine Pickle, and a methodiſt prayer-book, the property of her ladyſhip.

 I began

I began now to wiſh for a little of my friend Sir John's hoſpitality, of which there was not here the leaſt appearance. We heard not of a human creature, except by their injuries and inſults, not altogether indeed unprovoked; for the pantry and the cellar, though uſually empty, were always locked. Strong-beer there was none; and the ſmall, though nobody at home could drink it, was not ſuffered to be given away. The ſervants were always out of humour, and frequently changing; and the tradeſmen who brought their bills, were paid only by a wrangle, or a draught on ſome tenant who owed no rent. There was not a neighbour very near, except the parſon of the pariſh, and Alderman Grub, a rich citizen, who had purchaſed a conſiderable part of it from Sir Harry. With theſe they lived in a ſtate of perpetual hoſtilities: they quarrelled with the Alderman for preſuming to buy an eſtate which they wanted to ſell; and the parſon quarrelled with them,

becauſe he was in poſſeſſion of the only living in the gift of Sir Harry, and the Alderman had a much better to diſpoſe of. By the encouragement of theſe good neighbours, and their own ill conduct, conſiſting of a ſtrange mixture of inſolence and avarice, of meanneſs and magnificence, they were deſpiſed, perſecuted, and affronted by all around them. Their pigs were worried, their poultry murdered, their dogs poiſoned, their game deſtroyed, their hedges broke, and their hay-ſtacks ſet on fire. They were hiſſed and hooted at; and now and then a great pair of horns were fixed on their gates; an inſult at which they were highly enraged, but the meaning of which neither Sir Harry nor my lady, not even with the aſſiſtance of the Colonel, could ever gueſs at.

I ſoon grew weary of this land of contention and uneaſineſs; and, having recourſe to the old excuſe of urgent buſineſs, I took my leave, and went poſt to town; reflecting all the way with ſurpriſe

on the ingenuity of mankind, to render themſelves at once miſerable and ridiculous; and lamenting that the happineſs and innocence of rural life are now ſcarce any where to be found.

SHORT BUT SERIOUS

REASONS

FOR A

NATIONAL MILITIA.

Militia potior. Hor.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1757.

IN this age of levity and ridicule, it is extremely difficult to procure a ſerious attention to any propoſal, however important, or however wiſely calculated for the public benefit; but ſure if there ever was a propoſition deſerving attention from every true Engliſhman, it is this for the eſtabliſhment of a National Militia, now under the conſideration of the legiſlature; on the ſucceſs of which I ſincerely think,

that our glory abroad, our ſecurity at home, and our very being as a nation, entirely depend.

So manifeſt is the truth of this to the meaneſt and moſt abſurd underſtandings, that I never met with one of that kind who has not been clearly convinced of it; to ſuch therefore I ſhall not here addreſs myſelf, but to the wiſe and ſagacious only, many of whom, to my great ſurprize, I have found of a very different opinion: to theſe then I ſhall endeavour to prove, in as few words as poſſible, the truth of the following propoſitions:

1ſt, That ſuch a militia may ſoon be rendered not at all inferior to our preſent regular forces.

2dly, That it will effectually ſecure our liberties, properties, and religion.

3dly, That it will ſtrengthen the hands of government.

4thly, That it will reduce the price of our proviſions and manufactures, and extend our trade.

5thly,

5thly, That it will increaſe the number of our people; and,

Laſtly, That it may be carried into execution without any expence to the public.

Firſt, then, I ſhall endeavour to prove that a militia may very ſoon be rendered not at all inferior to our preſent regular forces: and whoever will look back on the behaviour of theſe forces for ſome years paſt both by land and ſea, will be convinced that this is no very arduous undertaking; nor be under any doubt, but that after a few days exerciſe they will behave as valiantly as our regiments at Falkirk, Preſton Pans, or Oſwego; or our fleets in the Mediterranean*. Nor

* Since the writing of this, the bravery and conduct of our regular forces, both by ſea and land, in every quarter of the globe, have been ſo unexampled, that, notwithſtanding the author's partiality for the Militia, he is candid enough to acknowledge, that he begins to have ſome ſmall doubts, whether thoſe corps may ever be able altogether to equal them.

can I indeed comprehend from whence their inferiority ſhould proceed; unleſs ſtrong beer ſhould inſpire leſs true courage than gin; or being trained in a country church-yard, produce a leſs familiarity with death than performing the ſame exerciſe in the gay ſcenes of Hyde-Park or St. James's. If it be objected that they will be deficient in military knowledge and experience; I anſwer, they will fight the better: the utility of theſe qualifications in the day of battle is a vulgar error, propagated like all others, for want of reaſoning; for all fighting being in its own nature contradictory to common ſenſe, it can never be promoted by knowledge: military knowledge therefore can never be that ſort of knowledge which enables men to fight; but that which enables them to find out good reaſons for not fighting; or if they ſhould be bad, to call in the aſſiſtance of councils of war and court-martials to make them better. Much leſs ſure will experience induce

men to fight, unleſs we can believe that wounds and bruiſes, like coffee and tobacco, though diſagreeable at firſt taſting, grow pleaſant by frequent repetitions.

Secondly, That ſuch a militia will ſecure our liberties, properties, and religion. The liberties we ſo juſtly value in this country are theſe, that every one may think and write, and ſay and do whatever he pleaſes; our properties comprehend all things of which we are in poſſeſſion, by whatever means they have been acquired; theſe can certainly no way be ſo effectully ſecured to us as by the uſe of arms, by which we may at all times defend ourſelves from the attacks of judges and juries, from writs and ejectments, from gaols and pillories, with all the tyranny of juſtices, and impertinence of conſtables, grievances not to be endured in a free country. As to our religion, a ſcheme of this kind muſt have moſt ſalutary effects, ſince a bill only for its eſtabliſhment has already produced unanimity

nimity between our church divines and diſſenters in one ſenſible and pious opinion *; an event perhaps not eaſy to be remembered on any other occaſion.

Thirdly, That it will ſtrengthen the hands of government, which in this nation being, by the conſent of all true patriots, allowed to be the ſole right of the loweſt of the people, or mob, with whom ſuch patriots wonderfully agree in their political ſentiments, what can ſo effectually ſecure to them the dominion they now exerciſe over us, as putting arms into their hands, and teaching them how to uſe them? This muſt certainly ſtrengthen the hands of theſe our governors, and conſequently of government itſelf.

Fourthly, It will reduce the price of our proviſions and manufactures, and extend our trade; becauſe when the good people of England are thus armed and diſciplined, they will be enabled to take away meat,

* In oppoſing that part of it which enacted, that the Militia ſhould be exerciſed on Sundays.

corn,

corn, and malt, and all other proviſions from foreſtallers and ingroſſers, butchers, millers, and farmers, at a reaſonable price, of which they themſelves muſt always be the beſt and moſt impartial judges. When the price of proviſions is thus happily reduced, that of our manufactures muſt inevitably fall in due proportion; and the reduction of theſe muſt as certainly carry more of them to foreign markets, and conſequently extend our trade. The truth of this has been ſo often demonſtrated by all writers on trade, and all whoſe trade is writing, that it is here needleſs to ſay any more on the ſubject.

Fifthly, That it will increaſe the number of our people: to be convinced of which, gentle reader, figure to thyſelf all the handſomeſt young fellows in every county, each armed like the hero in a romance, dreſt, powdered, and toupeed by the reforming hand of a genteel ſerjeant; then turn thy eyes to the numerous groupe of fair ſpectators in Sunday gowns, and clean linen, who will not fail to attend

tend ſo tempting a ſhow; then if thou haſt not loſt all feeling both mental and corporeal, thou canſt not doubt but that ſo much valour on one ſide, and ſo much beauty on the other, will certainly produce much mutual affection, and that this will as infallibly be the cauſe of much procreation, and in a great meaſure repair the loſſes occaſioned by our migrations to America, and the depredations of gin. If it be objected, that to balance this, many lives will be loſt by the inſtitution of theſe forces, by the accidental diſcharge of their firelocks, or the too valiant uſe of their ſwords in drunken quarrels; I anſwer, theſe accidents may ſometimes happen; but, as on the moſt moderate computation, every one in theſe corps will probably beget three children before he kills one man, it cannot fail to increaſe the number of our people. Though this good effect of this truly national ſcheme has not, that I know of, been obſerved by any author, who has undertaken to recommend

mend it to the public, yet it has not eſcaped the quick-ſighted eyes of our ſagacious legiſlature *; who, on this very account, have this year voted a large ſum to the Foundling Hoſpital, and propoſe to increaſe it ſtill further as ſoon as theſe national forces begin to act in the ſervice of their country.

Laſtly, That it may be carried into execution without any expence to the public, and this by a method ſo extremely obvious, that it is ſurpriſing the wiſdom of Parliament has not diſcovered it. The method I mean is no more than this: that as every man who attends on the days of exerciſe, and continues ſober, is by the preſent bill to receive ſixpence, I would have it further enacted, that every one who is drunk on thoſe days, ſhould pay the ſaid ſum of ſixpence, to be applied towards the ſupport of this national force, a very

* This ſeſſions the parliament voted a much greater ſum to the Foundling Hoſpital, than had ever been before thought on.

ſmall

ſmall penalty, ſure, for ſo great a neglect of duty where the ſafety of his country is at ſtake. Now, whoever has been preſent at a fair, a ſeſſions, a horſe-race, an aſſizes, a cricket-match, or a viſitation, or any other numerous meeting in the country, muſt know, that on the moſt enlarged computation, the number of ſober cannot exceed the proportion of one in ten of thoſe who are drunk; and there is no reaſon that I know of to ſuppoſe that the majority will be leſs on this occaſion. If ſo, the public, we ſee, will receive nine times the ſum every day that it will be required to pay, and conſequently the remaining eight parts will amply ſupply theſe forces with arms, ammunition, cloaths, and accoutrements. But, if this ſhould not be found quite ſufficient, conſidering how frequently they will probably be loſt, a ſmall matter laid on oaths, many of which they will readily learn, from the inſtructions of their ſerjeants, would eaſily ſupply all deficiences; and

if

if the landed officers of theſe corps would ſubmit to the ſame penalties, it would much increaſe the fund; but as theſe gentlemen, who are to receive nothing for being ſober, may think it hard to pay ſixpence for being drunk, I would by no means inſiſt on their being included, eſpecially as I doubt not but the ſum thus raiſed will be ſufficient to defray all expences, and totally to indemnify the public revenues.

The objections made to this ſcheme are ſo frivolous and abſurd, that they are by no means worthy of obſervation; but of one or two I will juſt take notice. It is aſſerted, that gentlemen of eſtates in the country, will never ſubmit to the duty of officers without pay; but whoever conſiders how ready theſe gentlemen are, on all occaſions, to execute the offices of juſtices of the peace, commiſſioners of taxes, and turnpikes; how earneſt to ſpend half their time, and all their eſtates, to acquire ſeats, and to attend their duty in Parliament,

Parliament, from whence no poſſible advantage can accrue, muſt be ſatisfied that this is but an unjuſt ſuſpicion, founded on no reaſon, and inconſiſtent with the true zeal which they have ever ſhewn in the cauſe of their country.

It is alſo apprehended, that many of theſe gentlemen, by indolence, corpulency, age, or gout, will be rendered incapable of fighting; but the very reverſe of this is certainly true, becauſe theſe very infirmities will make it impoſſible for them to run away.

And now having demonſtrated the truth of every one of my propoſitions beyond the power of all miniſterial ſcribblers to diſapprove, I ſhall conclude, by recommending this neceſſary ſcheme to the protection of all true lovers of their country, earneſtly wiſhing, that nothing may prevent it from being put in execution as ſoon as poſſible: then, O Britain, O my country, will I congratulate thee on the conſummation of thy proſperity,

and

and the happy period of all thy calamities. Long have thy true patriots wiſhed to ſee thee engaged ſingly in a war with France, which, from thy natural ſuperiority, muſt always be attended with glory and ſucceſs: long haſt thou groaned under the oppreſſions of mercenary allies abroad, and rapacious miniſters at home: but at laſt the time the happy time is arrived, when our wiſhes are all fulfilled, and our misfortunes wiped away; when we are in full poſſeſſion of ſuch a glorious war, without any allies, or any adminiſtration at all.

——— *quod optanti nemo promittere Divum*
Auderet, volvenda Dies en attulit ultro!

THOUGHTS

ON THE

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

OF THE

PRESENT HIGH PRICE OF

PROVISIONS.

Privatus illis cenſus erat brevis
Commune magnum.

THE high price of proviſions, and all the neceſſaries of life, is an evil ſo inconvenient to all conditions of men, and ſo intolerable to ſome, that it is not ſurpriſing that all ſhould ſuffer it with much diſcontent, and many be drove by it into deſpair, or into riot, rapine, and all kinds of diſorders. The latter, indeed, we cannot but expect, if we conſider, that the enemies of all government and ſubor-

dination, ſo numerous in this country, will not fail to avail themſelves of this favourable opportunity, to ſpread univerſal diſſatisfaction, and inflame the minds of the people to ſeek redreſs by ſuch infamous and dangerous methods. This they endeavour, too ſucceſsfully, to effect, by daily repreſenting in the public papers, that this calamity ariſes from the artifices of monopolizers, regraters, foreſtallers, and engroſſers, encouraged, or at leaſt connived at, by miniſters deſirous of oppreſſing the people, and parliaments unattentive to their complaints. It is hard to ſay, whether the ignorance of theſe writers, or their malevolence, is ſuperior; or, whether the abſurdity of their principles, or the miſchief of them, is the greateſt: but one may venture to affirm, that our people, notwithſtanding the preſent ſcarcity, are ſtill better fed than taught. This undoubtedly makes it neceſſary, at this time, that the true cauſes of this evil ſhould be explained to them; which, if it leſſens

not

not their wants, may in ſome meaſure abate their ill-founded indignation.

To this end I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, as conciſely as poſſible, that the preſent high price of proviſions ariſes principally from two ſources; the increaſe of our national debts, and the increaſe of our riches; that is, from the poverty of the public, and the wealth of private individuals. From what cauſes theſe have been increaſed, and what have been the effects of that increaſe, ſhall be the ſubject of the few following pages.

It will ſurely be unneceſſary to enquire into the cauſes of the late immenſe increaſe of our national debt; whoever remembers the many millions annually borrowed, funded, and expended, during the laſt war, can be under no difficulty to account for its increaſe. To pay intereſt for theſe new funds, new taxes were every year impoſed, and additional burthens laid on every comfort, and almoſt every neceſſary of life, by former taxes, occaſioned

by former wars, before ſufficiently loaded. Theſe muſt unavoidably increaſe the prices of them, and that in a much greater proportion than is uſually underſtood: for a duty laid on any commodity does not only add the value of that duty to the price of that commodity, but the dealer in it muſt advance the price double or treble times that ſum; for he muſt not only repay himſelf the original tax, but muſt have compenſation for his loſſes in trade by bad debts, and loſs of intereſt by his increaſed capital. Beſides this, every new tax does not only affect the price of the commodity on which it is laid, but that of all others, whether taxed or not, and with which, at firſt ſight, it ſeems to have no manner of connection. Thus, for inſtance, a tax on candles muſt raiſe the price of a coat or a pair of breeches: becauſe, out of theſe, all the taxes on the candles of the wool-comber, weaver, and the taylor, muſt be paid: a duty upon ale muſt raiſe the price of ſhoes; becauſe from

them all the taxes upon ale drank by the tanner, leather-dreſſer, and ſhoemaker, which is not a little, muſt be refunded. No tax is immediately laid upon corn, but the price of it muſt neceſſarily be advanced; becauſe, out of that, all the innumerable taxes paid by the farmer on windows, ſoap, candles, malt, hops, leather, ſalt, and a thouſand others, muſt be repaid: ſo that corn is as effectually taxed, as if a duty by the buſhel had been primarily laid upon it; for taxes, like the various ſtreams which form a general inundation, by whatever channels they ſeparately find admiſſion, unite at laſt, and overwhelm the whole. The man, therefore, who ſold ſand upon an aſs, and raiſed the price of it during the late war, though abuſed for an impoſition, moſt certainly acted upon right reaſons; for, though there were no new taxes then impoſed either on ſand or aſſes, yet he found by experience, that, from the taxes laid on almoſt all other things, he could neither

maintain himſelf, his wife, or his aſs, as cheap as formerly; he was therefore under a neceſſity of advancing the price of his ſand, out of which alone all the taxes which he paid muſt be refunded. Thus, I think, it is evident beyond all doubt, that the increaſe of taxes muſt increaſe the price of every thing, whether taxed or not; and that this is one principal cauſe of the preſent extraordinary advance of proviſions, and all the neceſſaries of life.

The other great ſource, from whence this calamity ariſes, is certainly our vaſt increaſe of riches; the cauſes and conſequences of which, I will now briefly conſider. That our riches are in fact amazingly increaſed within a few years, no one, who is in the leaſt acquainted with this country, can entertain a doubt: whoever will caſt his eyes on our public works, our roads, our bridges, our pavements, and our hoſpitals, the prodigious extenſion of our capital, and in ſome proportion that of every conſiderable town in Great-Britain; whoever

ever will look into the poſſeſſions and expences of individuals, their houſes, furniture, tables, equipages, parks, gardens, cloaths, plate, and jewels, will find every where round him ſufficient marks to teſtify to the truth of this propoſition. This great increaſe of private opulence is undoubtedly owing to the very ſame cauſe which increaſed our national debt; that is, to the enormous expences and unparalleled ſucceſs of the late war; and indeed very much ariſes from that very debt itſelf. Every million funded is in fact a new creation of ſo much wealth to individuals, both of principal and intereſt; for the principal being eaſily transferable, operates exactly as ſo much caſh; and the intereſt, by enabling ſo many to conſume the commodities on which taxes are laid for the payment of it, in a great meaſure, produces annually an income to diſcharge itſelf. Of all the enormous ſums then expended, little beſides the ſubſidies, granted to German Princes, was loſt to

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the individuals of this country, though the whole was irrecoverably alienated from the public; all the reſt annually returning into the pockets of the merchants, contractors, brokers, and ſtock-jobbers, enabled them to lend it again to the public on a new mortgage the following year. Every emiſſion of paper credit by bank-notes, exchequer and navy bills, ſo long as they circulate, anſwers all the purpoſes of ſo much additional gold and ſilver as their value amounts to: if we add to theſe the immenſe riches daily flowing in ſince that period from our commerce, extended over every quarter of the globe, from the new channels of trade opened with America, and the amazing ſums imported from the Eaſt Indies, it will not ſure be difficult to account for the opulence of the preſent times, which has enabled men to increaſe their expences, and carry luxury to a pitch unknown to all former ages.

The effects of this vaſt and ſudden in-

creaſe of riches, are no leſs evident than their cauſe: the firſt, and moſt obvious effect of the increaſe of money, is the decreaſe of its value, like that of all other commodities; for money being but a commodity, its value muſt be relative, that is, dependant on the quantity of itſelf, and the quantity of the things to be purchaſed with it. In every country where there is great plenty of proviſions, and but little money, there proviſions muſt be cheap, that is, a great deal of them will be exchanged for a little money: on the contrary, where there are but little proviſions in proportion to the number of conſumers, and a great plenty of money, or what paſſes for money, there they will inevitably be dear; that is, a great deal of money muſt be given to purchaſe them. Theſe effects muſt eternally follow their cauſes in all ages and in all countries; and that they have done ſo, the hiſtory of all countries in all ages ſufficiently informs us. The

value

value of money at the time of the Norman conqueſt, was near twenty times greater than at preſent; and it has been gradually decreaſing from that period, in proportion as our riches have increaſed: it has decreaſed not leſs than one-third during the preſent century; and I believe one-half at leaſt of that third ſince the commencement of the laſt war, which I doubt not, could it be exactly computed, would be found to be in due proportion to the increaſe of its quantity, either in real or fictitious caſh; and that the price of proviſions is advanced in the ſame proportion during the ſame period.

The increaſe of money does not only operate on the price of proviſions by the diminution of its own value, but by enabling more people to purchaſe, and conſequently to conſume them; which muſt unavoidably likewiſe increaſe their ſcarcity, and that muſt ſtill add more to their price. Twenty rich families will conſume ten times as much meat, bread, butter,

ter, ſoap, and candles, as twenty poor families conſiſting of the ſame number; and the prices of all theſe muſt certainly riſe in proportion to the demand. This effect of the increaſe of wealth in many countries of Europe, is very viſible at this day, and in none more than in the northern parts of this iſland, who having of late acquired riches by the introduction of trade, manufactures, and tillage, can now well afford to eat roaſt beef, and therefore conſume much of thoſe cattle, with which they were formerly glad to ſupply us; and will not part with the reſt but at prices greatly advanced. The conſumption of every thing is alſo amazingly increaſed from the increaſe of wealth in our metropolis, and indeed in every corner of this kingdom; and the manner of living, throughout all ranks and conditions of men, is no leſs amazingly altered: the merchant who formerly thought himſelf fortunate, if in a courſe of thirty or forty years, by a large trade and ſtrict œcono-

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my, he amaſſed together as many thouſand pounds, now acquires in a quarter of that time double that ſum, or breaks for a greater, and vies all the while with the firſt of our nobility, in his houſes, table, furniture, and equipage: the ſhop-keeper, who uſed to be well contented with one diſh of meat, one fire, and one maid, has now two or three times as many of each; his wife has her tea, her card-parties, and her dreſſing-room; and his prentice has climbed from the kitchen fire to the front boxes at the play-houſe. The loweſt manufacturer and meaneſt mechanic will touch nothing but the very beſt pieces of meat, and the fineſt white bread; and if he cannot obtain double the wages for being idle, to what he formerly received for working hard, he thinks he has a right to ſeek for a redreſs of his grievances, by riot and rebellion. Since then the value of our money is decreaſed by its quantity, our conſumption increaſed by univerſal luxury, and the ſupplies which we uſed to

receive

receive from poorer countries, now alſo grown rich, greatly diminiſhed, the preſent exorbitant price of all the neceſſaries of life can be no wonder.

From what has been here offered, I think this may be readily accounted for, without having recourſe to foreſtallers, regraters, engroſſers, monopolizers, higlers, badgers, bounties, poſt-chaiſes, turnpike-roads, enlarging of farms, and the extenſion of the metropolis, with all that ridiculous catalogue of cauſes, which have been aſſigned by eſſay-writers to this evil, and frequently adopted by the abſurdity of their readers. How far all or any of theſe have accidentally, collaterally, or locally contributed to augment the price of proviſions, I cannot determine, nor do I think it of much importance to enquire; becauſe I am ſatisfied, whatever may have been their effects, they could have had none at all, had they not been aſſiſted by the firſt and great cauſe, the increaſe of riches; for no artifices of traders

can

can make their commodities dear in a poor country; that is, ſell things for a great deal of money, where there is little to be found. It ſeems therefore to no purpoſe, to ſearch out for cauſes of the preſent high price of proviſions, from facts, whoſe operations are uncertain, and reaſons at beſt but ſpeculative, when it is ſufficiently accounted for from theſe two great principles, the increaſe of taxes, and the increaſe of riches, principles as abſolutely indiſputable, and as demonſtrable as any mathematical problem.

I ſhall now make ſome curſory obſervations and ſhort concluſions on the principles here advanced, which, allowing theſe to be true, can admit of no doubt. Firſt then, although the price of proviſions is at preſent very high, they cannot with propriety be ſaid to be dear. Nothing is properly dear, except ſome commodity, which, either from real or fictitious ſcarcity, bears a higher price than other things in the ſame country, at the ſame

time. In the reign of Henry II. the value of money was about fifteen times greater than in the preſent age: a fowl then was ſold for a penny, which cannot now be bought under fifteen pence; but fowls are not for that reaſon dearer now, than they were at that time; becauſe one penny was then earned with as much labour, and when earned would fetch as much of every thing at market, as fifteen will in theſe days: was the value of money now as great, and the price of other things as ſmall, as in theſe times, and proviſions bore the ſame price as at preſent, they would then be dear indeed, and the pamphleteers would have good reaſon to impute their dearneſs to the frauds of engroſſers and monopolizers; but as the price of every thing beſides, of houſes, furniture, cloaths, horſes, coaches, fees, perquiſites, and votes, are all equally advanced; nay, as every pamphlet, which uſed to be ſold for one ſhilling, has now inſcribed on its title-page, price eighteen-

pence, their own works are a confutation of their arguments; for nonſenſe is a commodity in which there are too many dealers ever to ſuffer it to be monopolized or engroſſed. It is certainly therefore improper to ſay that proviſions are dear, but we ſhould rather affirm, what is the real fact, that money is cheap; and if the complainants would uſe this expreſſion inſtead of the other, and at the ſame time conſider, that this ariſes from the ſucceſs of our arms, and the extenſion of our trade, I am perſuaded, that if they were not leſs diſtreſſed, they would certainly be leſs diſſatisfied, and would, perhaps, by degrees, comprehend, that, in a country engaged in expenſive wars and ſucceſsful commerce, there muſt be heavy taxes, and great riches; and that where there are taxes and riches, there the prices of proviſions, and all other things, muſt be high, in ſpite of all the efforts of miniſters or parliaments, who ought by no means to be blamed, for not effecting impoſſibilities,

poſſibilities, and counteracting the nature of things.

Secondly, this cheapneſs of money in its conſequences affects different conditions of men in a very different manner; to ſome it operates exactly in the ſame manner as real dearneſs and ſcarcity, at the ſame time that to others it gives conſiderable advantages. All thoſe who ſubſiſt on ſettled ſtipends, muſt inevitably be ruined by it: merchants, and traders of all kinds, are greatly benefited; but the labourer and the land-owner are moſt grievouſly oppreſſed. Thoſe who ſubſiſt on ſettled ſtipends muſt be ruined; becauſe, if their incomes cannot be advanced in proportion to the decreaſe of the value of money, and the conſequent increaſe of the prices of every thing, the ſame nominal ſum which would afford affluence in one age, will not prevent ſtarving in another; of which we have numerous examples in our ſchools, colleges, alms-houſes, and other charitable founda-

tions. Merchants and traders are conſtantly gainers by it; becauſe they can always raiſe the prices of whatever they deal in, faſter than the value of money decreaſes: but the labourer, having nothing to ſubſiſt on but his daily work, muſt ever be behind hand in advancing the price of his labour; becauſe he is not able to wait till it acquires its due proportion of value, and therefore by it he muſt ſuffer extremely. The land-owner likewiſe cannot raiſe his rents in any proportion to the fall of the value of money; becauſe the charges of cultivation, the family-expences of the occupiers, and the maintenance of an increaſing poor, all burthens inſeparable from his land, muſt all riſe in proportion to that fall; and theſe muſt perpetually retard his progreſs. The price of labour and of land muſt by degrees advance, as money decreaſes in value; but, as theſe are the laſt that will feel its effects, the labourer muſt, in the mean time, be miſerably pinched, and the land-

owner

owner dreadfully impoveriſhed by it. This is not ſpeculation, but a fact which is too well verified by experience at this time, through every part of this kingdom, where the labourer, with his utmoſt induſtry, cannot now procure a belly-full for himſelf and his family; and, notwithſtanding all the late improvements in agriculture, the very ſame eſtates in land which formerly maintained a large family in ſplendor and hoſpitality, can now ſcarce repair and pay window-tax for a ſpacious manſion-houſe, and ſupply the owner of it with the neceſſaries of life. When I hear a merchant, contractor, or broker calling out for war, arguing for new loans and new taxes, I wonder not, becauſe I know that they are enriched by them, and I know alſo that they have ſagacity enough to know it too: but when I hear a landed gentleman talk the ſame language, when I ſee him eager for war, which muſt involve him in new diſtreſſes, encouraging loans, whoſe intereſt he muſt pay, pleading

for taxes, which muſt lie an eternal mortgage upon his eſtate, exulting in acquiſitions of territories and commerce, which muſt daily increaſe his expences, and diminiſh his income, and triumphing in victories which muſt undo him, I own I am ſurpriſed, but at the ſame time rejoice to find, that, in this enlightened age, there is ignorance ſtill left amongſt us, ſufficient to produce ſo diſintereſted a patriot.

Laſtly, from the foregoing premiſes one conſequence evidently appears, which ſeems to have eſcaped the ſagacity of our wiſeſt politicians, which is, that a nation may, nay muſt inevitably be ruined, who every year increaſes her debts, notwithſtanding her acquiſitions by conqueſt or commerce bring in double or treble the ſums which ſhe is obliged to borrow: and this by a chain of cauſes and conſequences, which the efforts of no human power or wiſdom are able to diſunite. New debts require new taxes; and new

taxes

taxes muſt increaſe the price of proviſions: new acquiſitions of wealth, by decreaſing the value of money, ſtill aggravate this evil, and render them ſtill dearer; this dearneſs of proviſions muſt augment the price of labour; this muſt advance the price of all manufactures; and this muſt deſtroy trade; the deſtruction of trade muſt ſtarve the poor, expel the manufacturers, and introduce univerſal bankruptcy, riot, and confuſion. Artificers of all kinds will, by degrees, migrate into cheaper countries: the number of clergy, whoſe education muſt grow more expenſive, and incomes leſs valuable, will be inſufficient for parochial duty: the pay of navies and armies muſt be augmented, or they will no longer defend a country which cannot maintain them; but rather themſelves become her internal and moſt dangerous enemies.

From what has been here ſaid, I think it plainly appears, that the preſent exorbitant price of proviſions, and all the ne-

ceſſaries of life, chiefly ariſes from the increaſe of our taxes, and of our riches; that is, from public poverty and private opulence, the fatal diſeaſe which has put a period to all the greateſt and moſt flouriſhing empires of the world; their deſtructive effects have been ſufficiently known in all ages; but the remedy ſucceſsfully to be applied to them, is yet a ſecret. No acquiſition of foreign wealth can be effectual for this purpoſe: was our whole national debt to be at once paid off, by the introduction of all the treaſures of the Eaſt, it would but accelerate our deſtruction; for ſuch a vaſt and ſudden influx of riches would ſo enhance our expences, and decreaſe the value of money, that we ſhould at once be overwhelmed with luxury and want. The moſt conciſe method of cure would be to take ſuperabundant wealth from individuals, and with it diſcharge the debts of the public; but here juſtice, liberty, and law, would obſtruct our progreſs with inſurmountable difficulties.

Whoever

Whoever therefore would attempt this ſalutary, but arduous undertaking, muſt not begin by extirpating engroſſers and regraters, nor by deſtroying rats and ſparrows, thoſe great foreſtallers of the public markets; but by gradually paying off that debt, not only by œconomy, but by the moſt avaricious parſimony, and as far as poſſible by narrowing thoſe channels, through which riches have flowed in ſuch torrents into the pockets of private men: he muſt be deaf to all mercantile application for opening new inlets of commerce at the public expence; he muſt boldly reſiſt all propoſitions for ſettling new colonies upon parliamentary eſtimates; and moſt carefully avoid entering into new wars: in ſhort, he muſt obſtinately refuſe to add one hundred thouſand pounds to the national debt, though by that means millions could be introduced through the hands of individuals. How far theſe meaſures are practicable, or conſiſtent with the honour, dignity, or even advantage of this

this country in other reſpects, I cannot determine; but this I will venture to affirm, that by no others this calamity, ſo loudly and ſo juſtly at this time complained of, can ever be redreſſed.

By what has been here thrown out, I would by no means be underſtood to mean to diſcourage the legiſlature from enquiring into abuſes, of which I doubt not but there are many, and applying to them the moſt efficacious and ſpeedy remedies; much leſs to diſapprove the ſalutary meaſures they have already taken to redreſs this evil, the wiſeſt, and perhaps the only ones which are practicable for that end. I propoſe only to leſſen the unreaſonable expectations many have formed of their ſucceſs, and the indignation conſequent from their diſappointment; and to ſtem a little thoſe torrents of abſurdities, with which one is overwhelmed in all companies both male and female. Every politician at a coffee-houſe has a noſtrum for this diſeaſe, which he pronounces infalli-

ble; and abuſes adminiſtration for not immediately adopting it. Projectors every day hold forth ſchemes unintelligible and impracticable; for not executing which, government is arraigned; the ignorant ſupport them, the factious make uſe of them, and oppoſitions, knowing what it is to be hungry, pathetically bewail the miſeries of the poor. The dowager at the quadrille-table inveighs loudly againſt the cruelty of parliament, for diſregarding the voice of the people, and ſuffering proviſions to continue at ſo exorbitant a price; calls a king; and if ſhe happens to be beaſted, grows more outrageous againſt the miniſtry; while the ſilent old general, her unfortunate partner, in three ſentences recommends military execution on all butchers, bakers, poulterers, and fiſhmongers, as the moſt equitable and moſt effectual remedy. Were theſe impertinences productive of no miſchief, they would be only ridiculous, and unworthy of a ſerious confutation; but as

Hæ nugæ ſeria ducunt
In mala;

as they tend to deceive, to diſappoint, and to exaſperate the minds of the vulgar, and to leave thoſe of their betters diſcontented, and diſſatisfied with government; whatever ſhall explain the true and fundamental cauſes of this calamity to the people, and give ſome check to the nonſenſe, which is every where wrote, talked, and propagated on this ſubject, is an attempt, which may render great and important ſervice both to the ſocial and the political world.

THE OBJECTIONS TO THE TAXATION OF OUR AMERICAN COLONIES, BY THE LEGISLATURE OF GREAT BRITAIN, BRIEFLY CONSIDERED.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1765.

THE right of the legiſlature of Great Britain to impoſe taxes on her American colonies, and the expediency of exerting that right in the preſent conjuncture, are propoſitions ſo indiſputably clear, that I ſhould never have thought it neceſſary to have undertaken their defence, had not many arguments been lately flung out,

both in papers and converſation, which with inſolence equal to their abſurdity deny them both. As theſe are uſually mixt up with ſeveral patriotic and favourite words, ſuch as Liberty, Property, Engliſhmen, &c. which are apt to make ſtrong impreſſions on that more numerous part of mankind, who have ears but no underſtanding, it will not, I think, be improper to give them ſome anſwers: to this therefore I ſhall ſingly confine myſelf, and do it in as few words as poſſible, being ſenſible that the feweſt will give leaſt trouble to myſelf, and probably moſt information to my reader.

The great capital argument, which I find on this ſubject, and which, like an elephant at the head of a Nabob's army, being once overthrown, muſt put the whole into confuſion, is this: that no Engliſhman is, or can be taxed, but by his own conſent: by which muſt be meant one of theſe three propoſitions; either that no Engliſhman can be taxed without his

his own conſent as an individual; or that no Engliſhman can be taxed without the conſent of the perſons he chuſes to repreſent him; or that no Engliſhman can be taxed without the conſent of the majority of all thoſe, who are elected by himſelf and others of his fellow-ſubjects to repreſent them. Now let us impartially conſider, whether any one of theſe propoſitions are in fact true: if not, then this wonderful ſtructure which has been erected upon them, falls at once to the ground, and like another Babel, periſhes by a confuſion of words, which the builders themſelves are unable to underſtand.

Firſt then, that no Engliſhman is or can be taxed but by his own conſent as an individual: this is ſo far from being true, that it is the very reverſe of truth; for no man that I know of is taxed by his own conſent; and an Engliſhman, I believe, is as little likely to be ſo taxed, as any man in the world.

Secondly, that no Engliſhman is, or can

can be taxed, but by the conſent of thoſe perſons, whom he has choſe to repreſent him; for the truth of this I ſhall appeal only to the candid repreſentatives of thoſe unfortunate counties which produce cyder, and ſhall willingly acquieſce under their determination.

Laſtly, that no Engliſhman is, or can be taxed, without the conſent of the majority of thoſe, who are elected by himſelf, and others of his fellow-ſubjects, to repreſent them. This is certainly as falſe as the other two; for every Engliſhman is taxed, and not one in twenty repreſented; copyholders, leaſeholders, and all men poſſeſſed of perſonal property only, chuſe no repreſentatives: Mancheſter, Birmingham, and many more of our richeſt and moſt flouriſhing trading towns ſend no members to parliament, conſequently cannot conſent by their repreſentatives, becauſe they chuſe none to repreſent them; yet are they not Engliſhmen? or are they not taxed?

I am

I am well aware, that I ſhall hear Locke, Sidney, Selden, and many other great names quoted, to prove that every Engliſhman, whether he has a right to vote for a repreſentative or not, is ſtill repreſented in the Britiſh parliament; in which opinion they all agree: on what principle of common ſenſe this opinion is founded I comprehend not; but on the authority of ſuch reſpectable names I ſhall acknowledge its truth; but then I will aſk one queſtion, and on that I will reſt the whole merits of the cauſe: Why does not this imaginary repreſentation extend to America, as well as over the whole iſland of Great Britain? If it can travel three hundred miles, why not three thouſand? if it can jump over rivers and mountains, why cannot it ſail over the ocean? If the towns of Mancheſter and Birmingham ſending no repreſentatives to parliament, are notwithſtanding there repreſented, why are not the cities of Albany and Boſton equally repreſented in that aſſembly? Are they not alike Britiſh ſubjects? are they

not Engliſhmen? or are they only Engliſhmen when they ſolicit for protection, but not Engliſhmen when taxes are required to enable this country to protect them?

But it is urged, that the colonies are by their charters placed under diſtinct governments, each of which has a legiſlative power within itſelf, by which alone it ought to be taxed; that if this privilege is once given up, that liberty which every Engliſhman has a right to, is torn from them, they are all ſlaves, and all is loſt.

The liberty of an Engliſhman is a phraſe of ſo various a ſignification, having within theſe few years been uſed as a ſynonymous term for blaſphemy, bawdy, treaſon, libels, ſtrong beer, and cyder, that I ſhall not here preſume to define its meaning; but I ſhall venture to aſſert what it cannot mean; that is, an exemption from taxes impoſed by the authority of the parliament of Great Britain; nor is there any charter, that ever pretended to grant ſuch a privilege to any colony in America; and

and had they granted it, it could have had no force: their charters being derived from the crown, and no charter from the crown can poſſibly ſuperſede the right of the whole legiſlature: their charters are undoubtedly no more than thoſe of all corporations, which empower them to make bye laws, and raiſe duties for the purpoſes of their own police, for ever ſubject to the ſuperior authority of parliament; and in ſome of their charters, the manner of exerciſing theſe powers is ſpecified in theſe expreſs words, "according to "the courſe of other corporations in Great "Britain;" and therefore they can have no more pretence to plead an exemption from this parliamentary authority, than any other corporation in England.

It has been moreover alledged, that, though parliament may have power to impoſe taxes on the colonies, they have no right to uſe it, becauſe it would be an unjuſt tax; and no ſupreme or legiſlative power can have a right to enact any law

in its nature unjuſt: to this, I ſhall only make this ſhort reply, that if Parliament can impoſe no taxes but what are equitable, and the perſons taxed are to be the judges of that equity, they will in effect have no power to lay any tax at all. No tax can be impoſed exactly equal on all; and if it is not equal, it cannot be juſt; and if it is not juſt, no power whatever can impoſe it; by which ſhort ſyllogiſm, all taxation is at an end; but why it ſhould not be uſed by Engliſhmen on this ſide the Atlantic, as well as by thoſe on the other, I do not comprehend.

Thus much for the right. Let us now a little enquire into the expediency of this meaſure; to which two objections have been made; that the time is improper, and the manner wrong.

As to the firſt, can any time be more proper to require ſome aſſiſtance from our colonies, to preſerve to themſelves their preſent ſafety, than when this country is almoſt undone by procuring it? Can any time

time be more proper to impoſe ſome tax upon their trade, than when they are enabled to rival us in our manufactures, by the encouragement and protection which we have given them? Can any time be more proper to oblige them to ſettle handſome incomes on their governors, than when we find them unable to procure ſubſiſtence on any other terms than thoſe of breaking all their inſtructions, and betraying the rights of their ſovereign? Can there be a more proper time to compel them to fix certain ſalaries on their judges, than when we ſee them ſo dependent on the humours of their aſſemblies, that they can obtain a livelihood no longer than *quam diu ſe male geſſerint?* Can there be a more proper time to force them to maintain an army at their expence, than when that army is neceſſary for their own protection, and we are utterly unable to ſupport it? Laſtly, can there be a more proper time for this mother country to leave off feeding out of her own vitals,

theſe children whom ſhe has nurſed up, than when they are arrived at ſuch ſtrength and maturity as to be well able to provide for themſelves, and ought rather with filial duty to give ſome aſſiſtance to her diſtreſſes.

As to the manner; that is, the impoſing taxes on the colonies by the authority of parliament, it is ſaid to be harſh and arbitrary; and that it would have been more conſiſtent with juſtice, at leaſt with maternal tenderneſs, for adminiſtration here to have ſettled quotas on each of the colonies, and have then tranſmitted them with injunctions, that the ſums allotted ſhould be immediately raiſed by their reſpective legiſlatures, on the penalty of their being impoſed by parliament, in caſe of their non-compliance? But was this to be done, what would be the conſequence? Have their aſſemblies ſhewn ſo much obedience to the orders of the Crown, that we could reaſonably expect that they would immediately tax themſelves

ſelves on the arbitrary command of a miniſter? Would it be poſſible here to ſettle thoſe quotas with juſtice, or would any one of the colonies ſubmit to them, were they ever ſo juſt? Should we not be compared to thoſe Roman tyrants, who uſed to ſend orders to their ſubjects to murder themſelves within ſo many hours, moſt obligingly leaving the method to their own choice, but on their diſobedience threatening a more ſevere fate from the hands of an executioner? And ſhould we not receive votes, ſpeeches, reſolutions, petitions, and remonſtrances in abundance, inſtead of taxes? In ſhort, we either have a right to tax the colonies, or we have not: if parliament is poſſeſſed of this right, why ſhould it be exerciſed with more delicacy in America, than it has ever been even in Great Britain itſelf? If on the other hand, they have no ſuch right, ſure it is below the dignity as well as juſtice of the legiſlature, to intimidate the colonies

with vain threats, which they have really no right to put in execution.

One method indeed has been hinted at, and but one, that might render the exerciſe of this power in a Britiſh parliament juſt and legal, which is the introduction of repreſentatives from the ſeveral colonies into that body; but as this has never ſeriouſly been propoſed, I ſhall not here conſider the impracticability of this method, nor the effects of it, if it could be practiſed; but only ſay, that I have lately ſeen ſo many ſpecimens of the great powers of ſpeech, of which theſe American gentlemen are poſſeſſed, that I ſhould be much afraid, that the ſudden importation of ſo much eloquence at once, would greatly endanger the ſafety and government of this country; or in terms more faſhionable, though leſs underſtood, this our moſt excellent conſtitution. If we can avail ourſelves of theſe taxes on no other condition, I ſhall never look upon

it

it as a meaſure of frugality; being perfectly ſatisfied, that in the end, it will be much cheaper for us to pay their army, than their orators.

I cannot omit taking notice of one prudential reaſon, which I have heard frequently urged againſt this taxation of the colonies, which is this: that if they are by this means impoveriſhed, they will be unable to purchaſe our manufactures, and conſequently we ſhall loſe that trade, from which the principal benefit which we receive from them muſt ariſe. But ſurely, it requires but little ſagacity to ſee the weakneſs of this argument; for ſhould the colonies raiſe taxes for the purpoſes of their own government and protection, would the money ſo raiſed be immediately annihilated? What ſome pay, would not others receive? Would not thoſe who ſo receive it, ſtand in need of as many of our manufactures as thoſe who pay? Was the army there maintained at the expence of the Americans, would the ſoldiers want fewer

ſewer coats, hats, ſhirts, or ſhoes, than at preſent? Had the judges ſalaries aſcertained to them, would they not have occaſion for as coſtly periwigs, or robes of as expenſive ſcarlet, as marks of their legal abilities, as they now wear in their preſent ſtate of dependency? Or had their governors better incomes ſettled on them for obſerving their inſtructions, than they can now with difficulty obtain for diſobeying them, would they expend leſs money in their ſeveral governments, or bring home at their return leſs riches, to lay out in the manufactories of their native country?

It has been likewiſe aſſerted, that every ſhilling which our colonies can raiſe either by cultivation or commerce, finally centers in this country; and therefore it is argued, we can acquire nothing by their taxation, ſince we can have no more than their all; and whether this comes in by taxes or by trade, the conſequence is the ſame. But allowing this aſſertion to be true, which it is not, yet the reaſoning

upon it is glaringly falſe: for ſurely it is not the ſame, whether the wealth derived from theſe colonies flows immediately into the coffers of the public, or into the pockets of individuals, from whence it muſt be ſqueezed by various domeſtic taxes before it can be rendered of any ſervice to the nation: ſurely it is by no means the ſame, whether this money brought in by taxes enables us to diminiſh part of that enormous debt contracted by the laſt expenſive war, or whether coming in by trade it enables the merchant, by augmenting his influence together with his wealth, to plunge us into new wars and new debts for his private advantage.

From what has been here ſaid, I think that not only the right of the legiſlature of Great Britain to impoſe taxes on her Colonies, not only the expediency, but the abſolute neceſſity of exerciſing that right in the preſent conjuncture, has been ſo clearly, though conciſely proved, that it is to be hoped that in this great and important

portant queſtion, all parties and factions, or in the more polite and faſhionable term, all connections will moſt cordially unite; that every member of the Britiſh Parliament, whether in or out of humour with adminiſtration, whether he has been turned out becauſe he has oppoſed, or whether he oppoſes becauſe he has been turned out, will endeavour to the utmoſt of his power to ſuport this meaſure. A meaſure which muſt not only be approved by every man, who has any property or common ſenſe, but which ought to be required by every Engliſh ſubject of an Engliſh adminiſtration.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS

ON

SEVERAL SUBJECTS.

ALL fooliſh people are wiſe enough to be ſoon tired of their own company; and therefore impatient of ſolitude, perpetually impoſe it upon their unfortunate acquaintance.

Thoſe who are extremely civil, are ſeldom ſociable; becauſe they receive more trouble, than entertainment from company.

That men uſually grow more covetous as they grow older, does not ſo much proceed from the increaſe of their affection for wealth, as from the decreaſe of their inclinations for any thing beſide: their regard for money continues the ſame, but

but they meet with fewer temptations to part with it; their love of pleaſures is leſſened by ſatiety, their ambition by diſappointments, their prodigality by experience, and their generoſity by ingratitude.

Every year, as we grow older, appears ſhorter than the preceding, and the reaſon of it is this; all our ideas of time muſt be derived from that portion of it, in which we have already exiſted, and that muſt be the ſtandard by which we meaſure it; as this ſtandard therefore extends itſelf by our living longer, ſo every period muſt appear ſhorter in proportion to it: thus when we have lived ten years, one year is the tenth part of the duration of our whole exiſtence; but when we have lived eighty, it is then but the eightieth part of the ſame term.

Honour is but a fictitious kind of honeſty: a mean, but a neceſſary ſubſtitute for it in ſocieties, who have none: it is a ſort of paper credit, with which men are obliged

obliged to trade, who are deficient in the ſterling caſh of true morality and religion.

Women are certainly not at all inferior to men in reſolution, and perhaps much leſs in courage, than is commonly imagined: the reaſon they appear ſo is, becauſe women affect to be more afraid, than they really are, and men pretend to be leſs.

Men's opinions much oftener proceed from their actions, than their actions from their opinions: they act firſt, and then with great facility reconcile their principles to their conduct; for which reaſon we find many, whom no advantage can induce to do any thing, which appears to them wrong; but of that many, very few, who can ever be convinced that any thing is wrong, from whence either pleaſure or profit accrues to themſelves.

Were all men honeſt, the world would go on much more happily than it does at preſent; but were all men wiſe, it would

not

not go on at all: ſo greatly preferable is honeſty to underſtanding.

As a man of ſenſe can uſually out-wit a fool, becauſe his deſigns are inconceivable to his adverſary's underſtanding; ſo a fool will ſometimes be too cunning for a wiſe man, for the very ſame reaſon; that is, becauſe he will conceive ſchemes, which could never enter into a wiſer head than his own. Counter-plotting an abſurd fellow is like fighting a left handed fencer; you receive a wound, becauſe it comes in a direction from whence you had no reaſon to expect it, and he gains a victory merely by his aukwardneſs.

Much ſpirit and little ſenſe are the worſt ingredients of which a human creature can be compoſed; he, who has much ſpirit and much underſtanding, will probably make a great and illuſtrious character: he, who has little ſpirit and little ſenſe, may prove an honeſt, uſeful, and happy man: but he, who is ſo unfortunate

as to have a great deal of ſpirit, and a ſmall ſhare of underſtanding, muſt ever be miſchievous to others, and miſerable in himſelf.

Contempt among mankind, like action and re-action in ſolid bodies, is always reciprocal and equal; whoever deſpiſes his company, may be aſſured, that he is not leſs deſpiſed by them: a wiſe man is juſt as much deſpiſed amongſt fools, as a fool amongſt wiſe men: whores and gameſters are not more contemptible in the eyes of others, than all others are in theirs, who are not of their own genteel fraternity.

Our reſentments and attachments are commonly the principal obſtacles which retard us in our progreſs to wealth and greatneſs: he, who can totally exonerate himſelf of theſe two grand impediments, the remembrance of paſt injuries, and gratitude for paſt benefactions, can hardly fail of travelling through the dirty roads of buſineſs and ambition, with great alacrity and ſucceſs.

Thoſe, who live idly on hereditary fortunes, are apt to look with much envy on the wealth and affluence enjoyed by men in profeſſions, and with no leſs indignation on the unjuſt means, by which, in moſt profeſſions, they are acquired; but they ought to conſider, that to theſe very means, unjuſt as they are, they themſelves are indebted for the ſecurity of their own lives, liberties, and eſtates; for ſuch is the nature of mankind, that if, in their general ſtruggle for wealth and power, they cannot ſucceed by art, they will infallibly make uſe of force; that is, if they are not indulged in ſome ingenious, learned, and legal methods of politely preying on each other, they will quickly have recourſe to fire and ſword.

He who will not be cheated a little, will be abuſed a great deal, and by that means ſuffer no leſs in his fortune, than in his reputation: our firſt leſſon, therefore, in the art of œconomy, ſhould ever be to learn how to permit ourſelves to be pro-

perly impoſed on, in due proportion to our ſituation and circumſtances.

No two qualities in the human mind are more eſſentially different, though often confounded, than pride, and vanity: the proud man entertains the higheſt opinion of himſelf; the vain man ſtrives only to infuſe ſuch an opinion into the minds of others; the proud man thinks admiration his due; the vain man is ſatisfied if he can but obtain it: pride by ſtatelineſs demands reſpect; vanity by little artifices ſolicits applauſe: pride, therefore, makes men diſagreeable, and vanity ridiculous.

Whoever appears to have a great deal of cunning, muſt, in reality, have but very little; for if he had much, he would have enough to conceal it.

The vice of ingratitude cannot be ſo frequent as it is uſually repreſented; becauſe the inſtances of real and diſintereſted obligations, from whence alone it can proceed, are very rare.

Applauſe is more frequently acquired

by profuſeneſs, than by charity; that is, by ſuffering ourſelves to be impoſed on, than by beſtowing our money on proper objects: becauſe thoſe who over-reach us, look upon their acquiſitions as the juſt reward of their own ſuperior abilities, and are therefore not unwilling to publiſh them; whereas, thoſe who receive our donations, feel the weight of obligations, always implying an inferiority which men little care to remember, and leſs to talk of.

Painters of human nature, like thoſe of human faces, are of two ſorts; the one give us beautiful pictures, but without the leaſt reſemblance of thoſe who ſit for them; the other draw ſtrong likeneſſes, but for the moſt part ſomething uglier than the originals.

Whoever would deceive the multitude, let him not deſpair of perſuading them to believe any one thing in the world except truth.

Advice is ſeldom well received, well intended,

tended, or productive of any good: it is ſeldom well received, becauſe it implies a ſuperiority of judgment in the giver; and it is ſeldom intended for any other end, than to ſhew it: it is ſeldom of any ſervice to the giver, becauſe it more frequently makes him an enemy, than a friend; and as ſeldom to the receiver, becauſe, if he is not wiſe enough to act properly without it, he will ſcarcely be wiſe enough to diſtinguiſh that which is good.

He, who will not change his principles, will find himſelf, in a little time, under a neceſſity to change his party.

Liberty is a fine-ſounding word; but moſt of thoſe who uſe it, mean nothing more by it than a liberty to oppreſs others, themſelves uncontrouled by any ſuperior authority.

As property always produces power ſo power is always convertible into property, therefore it is demonſtrable, that the corruption of parliaments muſt ever increaſe with the increaſe of their power, and can be

leſſened only by the diminution of their importance. How abſurd, therefore, are thoſe, who labour at the ſame time to increaſe liberty, and to deſtroy corruption; that is, who endeavour to give the people more power to carry to market, and at the ſame time to hinder them from ſelling it?

The chief buſineſs of a government is like that of a nurſe, to hinder thoſe who are under its care from doing miſchief to themſelves; of which they are in perpetual purſuit, and perpetually angry with thoſe who endeavour to prevent them.

We need not travel far over the world, to acquire a ſufficient knowledge of human nature and human government: by ſagacity and obſervation it may be eaſily learned within the narrow limits of a ſingle pariſh, the meaneſt veſtry being actuated by the ſame principles, and managed by the ſame arts, as the moſt holy ſynod, or the moſt auguſt ſenate: the conduct of the drama is nearly the ſame; the difference

rence lies only in the addreſs and dignity of the actors.

There is, undoubtedly, great difference in the wiſdom and honeſty of particular men, but very little in thoſe of large numbers in the ſame ſituation and circumſtances; as individual grains of corn may differ much in ſize and weight, but two buſhels taken out of the ſame heap, will certainly be nearly ſimilar.

It ſeems a fundamental principle of modern politics, that every means that can bring wealth into a nation, muſt add juſt ſo much to its happineſs, proſperity, and duration; but this is no more true, than that every ſingle perſon is happy, healthy, and long-lived, in proportion to his riches.

It is often aſſerted, that the landed and trading intereſt of a nation muſt ever be inſeparable; and each of them aſſure us, that their own is the intereſt of the public: but all theſe propoſitions are fallacious; there are few inſtances in which the landed

and trading intereſts coincide; in moſt they are diametrically oppoſite; nor are either, or both of them, always the intereſt of the public; whoſe true intereſt is only to keep them from deſtroying each other, and involving herſelf in dangers and expences.

The landed intereſt of this nation, like the ſilly and defenceleſs ſheep, in ſilence offers its throat to the butchery of every adminiſtration, and is eat up by every ravenous profeſſion; while the trading intereſt, like the hungry and unmannerly hog, devours every thing, and if a finger is but laid upon it, the whole country is diſtracted with the outcry.

It is not a little ſurpriſing, that mankind have in all times ſo much delighted in war, and that notwithſtanding all the miſeries it has brought upon them, they ſhould ſtill continue to ruſh into it with as much alacrity as ever; the true, though ſecret reaſon of which, is certainly this: there is implanted in human nature, corrupt as it

is,

is, ſo ſtrong an approbation of virtue, that however determined men are to indulge their evil inclinations, they never enjoy them with any ſatisfaction, unleſs they can find out ſome means of hiding their deformities, not only from the eyes of others, but even from their own, and they are therefore extremely fond of every expedient that can aſſiſt them in this favourable ſelf-deception, and procure them leave to be wicked with a good character, and a good conſcience: now war is of all others the moſt effectual for this purpoſe; as it grants us a plenary indulgence for every vitious diſpoſition in the human mind exempted from all puniſhment, or even cenſure, as well as from all reluctance and remorſe: it ſo dreſſes up idleneſs and profligacy, malevolence and revenge, cruelty and injuſtice, in the amiable habit of zeal for the glory and proſperity of our country, that we can give a looſe to them all, not only with the applauſe of the world, but with the ſincere approbation

tion of our own hearts; and of ſuch high eſtimation is this privilege, that we think it a ſufficient recompence for all the miſeries and deſolation, which the mutual exerciſe of it cannot fail to introduce.

Men's zeal for religion is much of the ſame kind as that which they ſhew for a foot-ball: whenever it is conteſted for, every one is ready to venture their lives and limbs in the diſpute; but, when that is once at an end, it is no more thought on, but ſleeps in oblivion, buried in rubbiſh, which no one thinks it worth his pains to rake into, much leſs to remove.

In religious quarrels, the propoſitions in diſpute are generally ſuch as thoſe who impoſe them cannot believe, and thoſe who reject them cannot underſtand: and therefore no one is perſecuted for not believing, but for not profeſſing to believe, when they do not; that is, for inſolently preſuming to be either wiſer, or honeſter than their perſecutors; an affront, which the ſtrongeſt ſide always extremely reſents,

ſents, and ſeverely puniſhes, under the terrible denomination of obſtinate hereſy.

The true ſcriptural meaning of the word Faith, ſeems nothing more, than a docility or promptitude to receive truth, and of Chriſtian Faith, to believe the divine authority of that religion, and to obey it's precepts: in this ſenſe ſurely too much merit can never be imputed to it; but ſince this denomination has been ſo undetermined, that no two ages, nations, or ſects, have affixed to it the ſame ideas, and ſo abuſed, that under it every abſurdity that knavery could cram down, or ignorance ſwallow, have been comprehended; ſince it is ſtill capable of being ſo explained, as to mean any thing that an artful preacher pleaſes to impoſe on an illiterate audience, the laying too great a ſtreſs upon it muſt be highly dangerous to the religion and liberties of mankind: but the propoſing it as a compoſition for moral duties is of all others the moſt miſchievous doctrine; as it unhinges

all

all our notions of divine juſtice, and eſtabliſhes wickedneſs upon a principle; and it is the more miſchievous, as it cannot fail of being popular, becauſe, as it is uſually inculcated, it is in fact nothing more than offering to the people a licence to be profligate, at the eaſy price of being abſurd; a bargain, which they will ever readily agree to.

Mankind live all in maſquerade: he, therefore, who mixes with them unmaſked is always ill received, and commonly abuſed by the whole aſſembly.

As man is the only riſible animal, ſo is he the only ridiculous one, except a monkey, which is no farther ridiculous than it reſembles him.

In all controverſies one may obſerve thoſe always adhere moſt obſtinately to their opinions, who are incapable of underſtanding the ſubject of the diſpute; and this, I think, might naturally be expected; becauſe thoſe, who have aſſented to propoſitions without any reaſon, can poſſibly

poſſibly have no reaſon for doubting of their truth.

He who exerciſes no trade or profeſſion is impoſed on by every one, without any power of making repriſals: he is like a man in the pillory, pelted by all without being able to return it: he has but one chance, which few men's ſituation or abilities will admit of, which is that of retaliating upon the public.

There is in every country a certain characteriſtic of taſte, which, during the ſame period of time, affects all arts, ſciences, and profeſſions, in a ſimilar manner, though perhaps not eaſy to be expreſſed: that which prevails with us at preſent, is an affectation of ſomething ſuperior to nature and truth; of all that excites our admiration, rather than of what ſatisfies our judgment; the very ſame extravaganzas run through all our arts, manners, and diverſions, to the utter neglect of all true beauty, ſimplicity, and uſefulneſs: thus our architecture is diſgraced

diſgraced with the tawdry deformities of Chineſe ornaments; our muſic has exchanged her harmony and pathos for the tricks of jugglers, and our dancing her dignity and graces for tumbling and grimace; our tables are filled with uneatable monſters of our own creation, our ſtages with an unintelligible jumble of harlequins and heathen deities, and our poetry, like a carver's ſhop, is crowded with unmeaning ornaments, without any place to which they can with propriety be adapted; our politics ſoar into impracticable ſpeculation, and our religion runs up into methodiſm and madneſs.

Lies, by being a long while repeated, and circulated through many hands, acquire ſo much authority, that at length they paſs for truth without any further inquiry: time and repetition have the very ſame effect upon nonſenſe.

A lie ſent out into the world, like a bomb diſcharged amongſt a crowd, burſts into innumerable pieces, every one of which

which carries miſchief with it in its flight.

Learning and liberty are excellent things; but, like tea and brandy, they are extremely pernicious in the hands of the vulgar, from the miſchievous uſe which they are ſure to make of them.

One of the moſt prevailing principles at preſent is, to truſt no adminiſtration with any power whatever; yet, to expect of every adminiſtration, that they ſhould perform things, which, without the moſt arbitrary power, are utterly impracticable.

Nothing ſo much manifeſts, as well as augments the weakneſs of a ſtate, as being obliged to admit men into power by the force of faction and oppoſition to power: becauſe this continually incites more faction, and more oppoſition for the ſake of power, and at the ſame time incapacitates all who thus acquire it to exerciſe or retain it; every ſucceeding oppoſition grow ſtronger by experience in the

arts

arts of diſtreſſing, and every adminiſtration weaker from inexperience in the arts of governing; for oppoſition is the moſt unpromiſing ſchool in which a miniſter can receive his education; it being as unlikely that a man ſhould learn the ſcience of government by the practice of diſturbing it, as that he ſhould acquire the ſkill of an architect by pulling down houſes, or the trade of a glazier by breaking of windows.

All adminiſtration of government muſt he unpopular from the nature and eſſence of government itſelf; for the nature and eſſence of all government is nothing more than a compulſion of individuals to act in ſuch a manner for the ſupport of ſociety, as they are neither wiſe nor honeſt enough to do from the ſuggeſtions of their own heads and hearts; this compulſion, therefore, muſt be contrary to both their judgments and inclinations, and conſequently unpopular; and for the ſame reaſon always more unpopular in proportion

to the vigour and wiſdom with which it is exerciſed.

An able, honeſt, and wiſe miniſter, by various particular circumſtances, may be popular for a time; but he is not very wiſe if he imagines that his popularity proceeds from any of theſe qualifications.

The ſituation of a miniſter, who riſes to the ſummit of power on the wings of popularity, is no more to be envied than that of a cat who is carried up to the clouds at the tail of a paper kite: whilſt it laſts, it is all but ſcrambling and giddineſs; and on the firſt change of the wind, or breach of the pack-thread, down he tumbles.

It is a certain though a ſtrange truth, that in politics almoſt all principles that are ſpeculatively right are practically wrong: the reaſon of which is, that they proceed on a ſuppoſition that men act rationally; which being by no means true, all that is built on ſo falſe a foundation, on experiment falls to the ground.

One of theſe falſe principles, amongſt a thouſand which we hear daily aſſerted for truth, is this, that thoſe who are poſſeſſed of moſt property will fight beſt in its defence: this appears to be true, becauſe it would be true if men fought from rational motives; but as they do not it is juſt the reverſe of truth, as the hiſtory of all ages and nations ſufficiently teſtifies, in which we ſee that all poor countries, that is thoſe who have leaſt property, have always been moſt valiant, and moſt ſucceſsful in war; and, in rich countries, property has been ever beſt defended by thoſe who have none.

Another principle of the ſame kind is, that national buſineſs would be moſt happily tranſacted by parliaments totally independent: this too in ſpeculation has the appearance of truth, but in experience none of the reality; becauſe the ſuppoſition on which it is founded is utterly falſe, which is, that the individuals of ſuch parliaments, uninfluenced by all ſelf-intereſt,

reſt, and the connections proceeding from it, would be directed by their judgments to chuſe the moſt ſalutary meaſures, and bound by their conſciences to purſue them; whereas, in fact, the majority of numerous aſſemblies have neither judgments to diſtinguiſh right, nor conſciences to tie them to the purſuit of it; and if uninfluenced by all real or imaginary intereſt, will infallibly do miſchief, or nothing at all.

There are many who are equally zealous for the deſtruction of all prerogative as well as parliamentary influence; which, though extremely abſurd, is not inconſiſtent with the principles of modern patriotiſm, the fundamentals of which are, that all government is an impoſition of the few upon the many, which they ought perpetually to endeavour to ſhake off, and that the people ought to be governed by themſelves only, that is, in other words, not to be governed at all.

The meaneſt abilities may eaſily, by

inflaming factions, reduce a government to ſo weak and ruinous a condition, that the moſt conſummate wiſdom cannot reſtore it to vigour and tranquillity; as a fool or a madman, with a farthing candle, may cauſe ſuch a conflagration in a city that the wiſeſt of its inhabitants may be unable to extinguiſh.

If any one fancies that a people can be governed without force or corruption, merely by purſuing right meaſures, as we hear frequently advanced by men totally ignorant of human nature and human buſineſs, let him make the experiment in a ſingle pariſh, and if there, without compulſion, power, influence, or gratuity, ſolely by the ſtrength of reaſon and motives of public utility, he can perſuade the inhabitants to ſubmit to equal and neceſſary taxes, to repair their roads, erect bridges, incloſe commons, drain marſhes, and employ their poor, or perform any other works of general and mutual advantage; I ſay, if he can accompliſh this,

let

let him retain his opinion; but if he finds it utterly impracticable, let him not expect that it can ever be done in a whole nation, in which there are ſo many factions, intereſts, and abſurdities to contend with.

Political authors, of all others, have the leaſt underſtood their ſubject; which is not ſurpriſing, ſince authors are generally ſpeculative men, and all knowledge of this kind entirely practical; wherefore he who has ſtudied Ariſtotle and Plato, Grotius and Puffendorff, in his cloſet, will be leſs acquainted with the arts of governing than the meaneſt attorney, or the loweſt alderman of the loweſt corporation: theſe may probably make no ſmall proficiency in the ſcience; for all human buſineſs is miſerably ſimilar; the moſt auguſt ſenate being actuated by the ſame principles, and managed by the ſame arts as the moſt contemptible pariſh veſtry; the plot and conduct of the drama is much the

ſame, the differencc lies only in the addreſs and dignity of the actors.

Nations, like armies, have ever been governed by watch words, given out by their leaders for the uſe of the day; church and ſtate, liberty and property, trade and navigation, have all had their turns here, and done their buſineſs, without having had any meaning, or at leaſt without any that was underſtood by thoſe who moſt loudly and frequently repeated them.

If you can convince a great man that you are attached to him by paſt ſervices, he will ſerve you again; but if you can perſuade him that he is obliged to you, he will in all probability ſee you no more.

Man ſhould ever look upon himſelf as that center link of an immenſe chain of ſubordinate beings which ties the animal and rational parts of it together, from this conſideration he would receive much and material knowledge concerning the duties

duties of his ſtation; he would learn how he ought to behave himſelf to thoſe inferior animals that are dependent on him, and what he may expect from ſuperior beings, on whom he is probably no leſs dependent himſelf.

What name ſhould we beſtow on a ſuperior being, whoſe whole exiſtence was employed, and whoſe ſole pleaſure conſiſted in terrifying, inſnaring, tormenting, and deſtroying mankind? who promoted their propagation merely to acquire more objects of perſecution, and preſerved their lives only to prolong their miſeries; whoſe ſuperior talents were exerted ſolely in fomenting hoſtilities among them, in contriving and furniſhing them with deſtructive weapons, and in teaching and encouraging them to uſe them in robbing and murdering each other; whoſe power was employed in aſſiſting the rapacious, deceiving the ſimple, and oppreſſing the innocent; who, day after day, without pity or remorſe, without advantage or provoca-

tion, ſhould thus purſue miſchief for diverſion, and be delighted in proportion to the miſeries he occaſioned? I ſay, what name could we find deteſtable enough for ſuch a being? yet let us conſider it impartially, and we ſhall find that, with regard to inferior creatures, juſt ſuch a being is a ſportſman.

Was a ſuperior being, who had never viſited this terreſtrial globe, informed by another who had, that it was inhabited by creatures called men, who, though well able to make themſelves, that is each other, happy, yet were perpetually labouring to introduce univerſal miſery by their mutual injuries; that thouſands of theſe creatures were perpetually employed in plundering, ſtarving, maiming, and murdering each other; that they did and ſuffered all this in obedience to the commands of a few of the moſt wicked and worthleſs individuals of their own ſpecies, whom they neither knew or cared for, or perhaps ever ſaw; if he was told at the ſame time that theſe

creatures

creatures were endued with reaſon, free-will, reflection, foreſight, and love of ſelf-preſervation, he would certainly look upon this information as the fictions of a traveller, and never be perſuaded that ſuch creatures could ever really exiſt in any part of the univerſe.

If that tenet of quakeriſm, that war is abſolutely unlawful, is not ſtrictly true, it is certainly very near it; for all wars muſt be unjuſt, and conſequently unlawful on one ſide, and they are moſt commonly ſo on both at their commencement, and always in their progreſs.

THOUGHTS

ON A

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

THE great object of a parliamentary reform I take to be this, to procure a parliament totally independent on the crown and its miniſters; in which no member ſhall be intimidated by power, ſeduced by hopes, or corrupted by intereſt: this ſeems at preſent to be the chief purſuit of all our political doctors; the grand ſpecific which alone can cure all our national diſorders, and reſtore our broken conſtitution to its original vigour.

On this important ſubject two queſtions offer themſelves for our conſideration; firſt, What are the moſt likely means

means to obtain ſuch a parliament; and ſecondly, What would be the effects of it if obtained.

For the firſt, innumerable have been the ſchemes preſented to the public by real and pretended patriots, that is, by thoſe who have more honeſty than ſenſe, and thoſe who have more ſenſe than honeſty. Some have been for ſhortening the duration of parliaments to three, and ſome to one year: ſome have recommended voting by ballot, as the moſt effectual method to put an end to bribery; others have diſapproved it as inconſiſtent with that open avowal which ought to accompany every act of a Britiſh freeman: ſome have propoſed to annihilate all the ſmall and corrupt boroughs, and to add the ſame number of repreſentatives which they now ſend to the ſeveral counties: ſome to add to the counties, and not to disfranchiſe the boroughs; others to aboliſh the boroughs, without any addition to the counties: ſome to enlarge, and ſome

to

to diminiſh the qualifications of the electors; and others to require no qualification at all, but to allow every man a vote, who is not diſqualified by nature, for want of reaſon, or by law, for the commiſſion of ſome crime: but as very few have agreed in any one of theſe propoſitions, and no one has been able to form any ſatisfactory plan out of them all, I ſhall not here enter into any diſcuſſion of their merits, or make any compariſon between them; but ſhall only ſay, that of all theſe plans, that of giving a right of voting univerſally, together with annual elections, appears to be the moſt uniform, conſiſtent, and effectual: it has indeed one capital defect, which is, that it is abſolutely and utterly impracticable; but I do not mention this as an objection, ſo far from it, that I think it is its chief excellence, and is what induces me to prefer it to all the reſt.

To be convinced of the impracticability of this ſcheme, let us but figure to our-

ſelves multitudes of all deſcriptions and denominations called out to exerciſe their right of voting, inflamed by conteſt and intoxicated by liquor; labourers and manufacturers of every kind, above and under ground; weavers from their looms, and miners from tinneries, and coal-pits; ſailors from their ſhips, and ſoldiers from their quarters; — to whom we muſt add, thouſands of thieves, ſmugglers, rogues, vagabonds, and vagrants: I ſay, let us figure to ourſelves all theſe reſpectable electors let looſe in one day throughout every part of the kingdom, and ſuch a ſcene of confuſion, of drunkenneſs and riot, of rapine, murder, and conflagration, will preſent itſelf, as muſt ſhock us with horror, even in imagination.

Nor would it be poſſible to carry on, or ever to conclude elections in which the voters are ſo innumerable, and conſequently ſo unknown. They muſt be polled in one of theſe two ways; they muſt either be admitted only to vote in the pa-

riſhes to which they belong, or permitted to be polled in whatever place they happened, or choſe to be at the time of the election: ſhould the firſt of theſe methods be adopted, the acceptance or rejection of every vote might be attended with the trial of a ſettlement, and counſel learned in the law be heard on both ſides: if the latter, crowds ſo numerous, and ſo uknnown to the candidates, and all whom they could employ to poll them, would preſs into every place, where money and liquor flowed in the greateſt abundance, that the chief part of them might vote in ten different places, or ten times in the ſame place undiſcovered; and if theſe elections were annual, one could not be finiſhed before the other began.

Another reaſon which perſuades me that this ſcheme is impracticable, is, that I cannot foreſee any claſs of men whoſe intereſt or inclination would not induce them to oppoſe it: the landed gentleman would

would not much approve, that every pauper, gypſy, vagrant, and leaſt of all every poacher, ſhould enjoy as great a ſhare in the legiſlature as himſelf; the city of London will never conſent that every drayman, hackney-coachman, and chimney-ſweeper, ſhould be veſted with as good a vote as the lord mayor and aldermen, nor the livery be deſirous of admitting ſo numerous an addition to their reſpectable fraternity: the corporations throughout the kingdom, will never ſubmit to have their conſequence annihilated by a participation of their privileges with ſo innumerable a multitude; nor do I think that very multitude, or the people at large, would be extremely zealous to ſupport it: at firſt, indeed, when they are told, that they ſhall all be legiſlators, obliged to obey no laws but of their own making, nor pay any taxes but of their own impoſing, and that every one of them ſhall have as good a vote for a parliament man as the Squire or the parſon, and re-

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collect that this vote has ever been as good as ready money; they will perhaps be a little elated and delighted with their new acquiſition; but when they are better informed, and underſtand, that the intent of this ſcheme is to prevent all bribery and corruption, and will preclude them from receiving one ſhilling or one dram of gin for their votes, they will reject this uſeleſs donation with contempt; and there will not be a tinker, who will not chooſe rather to mend a kettle for ſixpence, than the conſtitution for nothing, nor a labourer, who will not make faggots rather than laws, nor a pick-pocket, who will not prefer the exerciſe of his profeſſion at an election to giving his vote.

But was this ſcheme of univerſal repreſentation, or any other of the propoſed plans of reformation practicable, and purſued, certain I am, that they would not in the leaſt contribute to the great end, which is the formation of an independent parliament, becauſe reaſon does not perſuade

me, that electors the moſt ignorant and profligate, the moſt neceſſitous and venal, would return members more incorrupt than the preſent; nor does experience teach me, that ten or twenty conſtituents would chuſe repreſentatives leſs able or leſs honeſt than ten or twenty thouſand. I am firmly convinced, both by reaſon and long experience, that no alteration in the mode of election, or in the electors themſelves, would produce any change in the elected; in them lies the ſource of the evil, which no external application can approach: whether they are choſen by a greater or a leſs number, by counties or boroughs, by the rich or by the poor, by ballot or by audible voices, the parliament, when aſſembled, will be juſt the ſame; different modes of election may make ſome difference in the trouble and expence of the candidates, and may differently affect the morals of the people, and the peace of the country, but will make no difference in the repreſentative

tive body when brought together, and it is of little ſignification by what means they come there: the majority of any legiſlative aſſembly, conſiſting of five hundred and fifty members, in the ſame circumſtances and ſituation, will infallibly act in the ſame manner; if their ſituations differ, their proceedings will differ with them. In the weakneſs of infant ſtates, and in perilous times, they will be more intent on the ſafety of the community, becauſe their own is immediately included in it; but when the danger is removed, they will be more influenced by the views of intereſt and ambition, they will ſplit into factions and parties, and liſt under contending leaders, and ſometimes prefer their intereſt or their own to that of their country. Their corruption will always increaſe in proportion to their power, becauſe they have more to ſell and are more neceſſary to be bought. Thoſe who cannot make ſhift with ſuch a parliament, muſt have none, becauſe it is im-

poſſible for any mode of election, or ſpecies of electors, to chooſe a better, unleſs they could make men, as well as members.

Let us now ſee what would be the effects of this independent parliament, if obtained. By an independent parliament, in the language of the preſent times, is to be underſtood a parliament in which the majority would oppoſe any adminiſtration: now no arguments are neceſſary to prove, that with ſuch a parliament no public buſineſs whatever could be tranſacted, nor any government ſubſiſt. But it will be ſaid, this is not what is wiſhed for, but one in which the members ſhall be always ready to ſupport the meaſures of miniſters, when right, and to reſiſt them when wrong, unawed, and uninfluenced, and guided only by the dictates of their own judgment and conſcience. This indeed is what every wiſe man would deſire, but no wiſe man will expect to ſee, as no ſuch aſſembly, if numerous, ever exiſted in this

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or in any country, from the beginning of the world to the preſent hour, nor ever can, unleſs mankind were melted down, and run in a new mould: as they are now formed, in every numerous aſſembly there muſt be ſome who have no judgment, and others who have no conſcience, and ſome who have neither: take away ſelf-intereſt, and all theſe will have no ſtar to ſteer by, but muſt ſail without a compaſs, juſt as the gales of favour, or reſentment, of popular abſurdity, or their own ſhall direct them; a miniſter therefore muſt be poſſeſſed of ſome attractive influence, to enable him to draw together theſe diſcordant particles, and unite them in a firm and ſolid majority, without which he can purſue no meaſures of public utility with ſteadineſs or ſucceſs. An independent Houſe of Commons is no part of the Engliſh conſtitution, the excellence of which conſiſts in being compoſed of three powers, mutually dependent on each other: of theſe, if any one was to become

independent of the other two, it muſt engroſs the whole power to itſelf, and the form of our government would be immediately changed. This an independent Houſe of Commons actually performed in the laſt century, murdered the king, annihilated the peers, and eſtabliſhed the worſt kind of democracy that ever exiſted; and the ſame confuſion would infallibly be repeated, ſhould we ever be ſo unfortunate as to ſee another.

A numerous aſſembly uninfluenced is as much a creature of the imagination, as a griffin or a dragon; the one created by the poets, the other by ignorant or deſigning politicians. Parliaments have ever been influenced, and by that means our conſtitution has ſo long ſubſiſted; but the end and nature of that influence is perpetually miſrepreſented and miſunderſtood. They are ſeldom, very ſeldom, bribed to injure their country, becauſe it is ſeldom the intereſt of miniſters to injure it; but the great ſource of corruption is, that they will

will not ſerve it for nothing. Men get into parliament in purſuit of power, honours, and preferments, and until they obtain them, determine to obſtruct all buſineſs, and to diſtreſs government; but happily for their country, they are no ſooner gratified, than they are equally zealous to promote the one, and ſupport the other.

Upon the whole, under the ſame mode of elections, and under parliaments not leſs influenced than the preſent, this nation has not only ſubſiſted for many years, but arrived at the ſummit of wealth, honour, power, and dominion, and might ſtill have preſerved them, if the means of that influence had been ſufficient to ſatisfy the demands of ambition, and the hunger of faction. But even now, if we ſurvey the condition of every country on the globe, and compare it with our own, we ſhall find abundant reaſon to be contented: there are in it ſome evils, and much good, which is the utmoſt which

any human inſtitution will admit of. We have, indeed, too much oratory, too much liberty, too much debt, and too many taxes; but then we have plenty, and may have peace, if we pleaſe: we have ſecurity to our perſons and properties, and excellent laws, juſtly, though not very cheaply adminiſtered; we have a parliament not worſe, and a king a great deal better than we deſerve, and therefore I ſhall conclude with the words of Shakeſpear,

'Tis better ſure, to bear the ills we know,
Than fly to others, which we know not of.

A SCHEME

A

SCHEME

FOR THE

COALITION OF PARTIES.

1782.

OBSERVING it ſeveral times announced in the papers, that a certain able politician would ſhortly oblige the world with a Scheme for the Coalition of all Parties: I have long waited with much impatience for a ſight of ſo deſirable a work, from ſo eminent a hand; but having been hitherto diſappointed, I thought I could not employ a few leiſure hours more beneficially for my country, than

than in adding my inconſiderable endeavours for the diſcovery of this important ſecret; and that, the more heads were employed in a deſign ſo uſeful, the ſooner, and the more compleatly, it would be finiſhed. If the ſcheme of that ingenious gentleman ſhould exactly correſpond with mine, much weight will be added to my propoſal; but, if they ſhould differ in a few particulars, the impartial and infallible public may take their choice.

I ſhall not here follow the example of our modern reformers, civil and eccleſiaſtical, in pulling down without rebuilding, complaining without redreſſing, and oppoſing without propoſing; but ſhall offer a plain and ſimple ſcheme, which I am ſure will be effectual, and hope will be unexceptionable to men of all parties, connexions, and denominations; as it cannot fail to promote all their intereſts, as well as that of the public.

Before I preſumed to preſcribe, I thought it right to inveſtigate the cauſe of

the diſeaſe; and therefore have diligently enquired whether our preſent diſſentions have ariſen, as formerly, from any differences of opinions, or any contradictory articles in our political creeds; but, on the ſtricteſt examination, I can find no ſuch differences to exiſt: parties I ſee many, but cannot diſcern one principle amongſt them; they are neither Whigs nor Tories, Monarchy-men nor Republicans, High-church nor Low-church, Hanoverians nor Jacobites: they have all acted alternately on all theſe principles, as they have ſerved a preſent occaſion; but have adhered to none of them, nor even pretended to profeſs them: they have all been ready to ſupport government, whenever they have enjoyed the adminiſtration of it; and almoſt all as ready to ſubvert it, whenever they were excluded. I ſee few, very few, who have formed the moſt diſtant intentions of deſtroying the government, or changing the conſtitution of this country; but, I am afraid, I ſee as few, who ſcruple to

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plunge them both into the moſt imminent danger, rather than be ſtopped in the wild career of their headlong ambition: from whence it appears to me plainly demonſtrable, that all our preſent diſſentions are nothing more than an outrageous conteſt for power and profit, there being no other cauſe from whence they can poſſibly be derived. He, therefore, who can point out a method to put an end to this conteſt, need enquire no farther; the work is done, and a cordial and laſting coalition will immediately enſue.

In order to qualify myſelf for this taſk, and forming ſuch a coalition, I have endeavoured to recollect all the plans, which have hitherto been offered in writing or converſation, for this purpoſe; and I cannot remember one, that contained any thing more, than this ſhort propoſal, to diſmiſs all at that time in adminiſtration, and to admit the propoſer and his friends into their places, which he always calls a coalition, and recommends as the only method

thod to reſtore concord to a nation, which he fails not to repreſent as much out of humour as himſelf. Although this plan may probably be perfectly right, as it has been univerſally adopted by all parties in their turns; yet it has of late been tried with ſo little ſucceſs, that I would by no means have it repeated, and therefore it ſhall make no part of my propoſal.

I have likewiſe conſulted ſome of the moſt indigent, thinking them the moſt diſintereſted, patriots, ſtruggling for that liberty and property of which they themſelves enjoy ſo ſmall a ſhare, whoſe ſentiments therefore had great weight with me on this important ſubject: but theſe all unanimouſly agree, that no concord, or coalition, can or ought to take place, until an effectual place-bill and annual parliaments ſhall be eſtabliſhed; that theſe, and theſe alone, can put an end to our diſſentions, by extirpating venality and corruption, and reſtoring to us an independent and honeſt repreſentation; but ſo

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dull am I of apprehenſion, that the ſalutary effects of theſe regulations do not appear to me quite ſo clear; becauſe, though I know that honeſty will make men independent, yet I do not ſee that independence will make them honeſt; nor that a parliament, if not honeſt, will be the leſs dangerous for being independent. Nor can I comprehend, that multiplying corrupt elections will put an end to corruption; nor that the more frequent returns of expenſive conteſts will promote the choice of thoſe who have the leaſt money to ſpend; nor, if ſuch ſhould be choſen, that they would be more independent becauſe they were poorer, and conſequently had more wants to be ſatisfied; all this may be very good logic, but it does not ſtrike very forcibly on my underſtanding; and therefore neither of theſe regulations ſhall be admitted into my ſyſtem.

I ſhall preſcribe no remedies for national diſorders, the effects of which I am

not

not able to anſwer for, which perhaps after a long circuit through every veſſel of the body politic may produce conſequences directly contrary to my intentions; and, inſtead of curing the preſent complaints, render them much worſe, or produce a new diſeaſe, more dangerous and more difficult to conquer: I ſhall rather ſtrike at once at the great root of all political evils, which every one knows is the miniſtry itſelf; and therefore, inſtead of recommending annual parliaments, I ſhall propoſe an annual adminiſtration; in which ſingle regulation my whole ſcheme is comprehended, and which I would have conſtituted in the following manner.

On the firſt day of every ſeſſion of parliament, before any buſineſs ſhould be proceeded on, an urn or box ſhould be placed on the table of each houſe, in which ſhould be depoſited ſmall pieces of paper, inſcribed with the names of all the great offices in the ſtate, houſhold, treaſury,

treaſury, and admiralty, and ſealed up with the greateſt ſecrecy and care, the names of thoſe offices which are uſually appropriated to the members of each houſe being put into their reſpective boxes. I would then propoſe, that a committee of thirty from the peers, and one hundred from the commons, of their moſt conſiderable members, ſhould be choſen by ballot, or the whole be admitted, if that ſhould give more ſatisfaction, who ſhould draw out theſe tickets from the urns or boxes, and immediately take poſſeſſion of whatever poſt fortune ſhould thus fling into their hands, and keep it unmoleſted and irremoveable during the next enſuing year, their commiſſions being made out accordingly: as to all inferior places, they ſhould remain in the ſame hands, to prevent any confuſion or interruption in the buſineſs of the publi, until they become vacant by deaths or promotions, and then they ſhould be filled up by the principals in each department for the time being;

by which means they will all have equal opportunities of providing for their friends and adherents, who will not then be very numerous, or much wanted, when offices are attainable only by the foregoing method.

This ſcheme neceſſarily puts an end to all conteſts for power and profit, and with them to venality, corruption, and all our political diſeaſes, which are but their unavoidable conſequences: when nothing can be obtained by contention, we ſhall contend no more; peace and harmony will return, and this much-ſought-for coalition immediately be effected. It is alſo, like all other great diſcoveries, ſo ſimple and obvious a remedy, that it is not a little ſurpriſing that it ſhould not have been before hit upon by ſome of thoſe numerous ſtate phyſicians, who daily ſtudy, and preſcribe to the national conſtitution.

But, in order the better to explain its operations, and ſhew its ſalutary effects, I

ſhall conſider it under the following heads; how it will affect the king, how the adminiſtration, how the oppoſition, and how the nation. And here I beg leave to premiſe, that by theſe I would not be underſtood to mean thoſe only who now fill thoſe ſituations, but all kings, adminiſtrations, and oppoſitions, that do, or ſhall at any time exiſt hereafter.

Firſt then as to the king; I am ſenſible that this ſcheme will rob him of one of the choiceſt of his prerogatives, the diſpoſal of all offices of truſt and profit; wiſely, as ſome have thought, placed in his royal hands by the conſtitution for the moſt ſalutary purpoſes; though improperly in the opinion of others, to whoſe ſhare none of them have fallen; therefore I ſhould by no means adviſe, that ſo capital and ſo hazardous an alteration ſhould be made permanent by law, but only tried for a few years, as an experiment, whoſe conſequences cannot be well aſcertained until they become viſible by practice.

tice. But, however it may affect the rights of the crown, it will certainly relieve the poſſeſſor from innumerable trouble; the jewel here taken away is indeed one of its richeſt, yet it is one of the heavieſt loads on the head of the wearer, and cannot fail to convert it into a crown of thorns. It is indeed a prodigious power; but it is a perplexing power, which ſerves only to make the many ſolicitors who muſt be refuſed angry, and the few who are obliged ungrateful: it is indeed a pre-eminence of royalty, but it is a painful pre-eminence; and to relinquiſh it, would be an eſcape from moſt of the diſquietudes which attend that exalted but uneaſy ſituation. Could this be done, a wiſe, a juſt, and virtuous prince would no longer lie under the diſagreeable neceſſity of preferring knaves for their intrigues, profligates for their abilities, and fools for their connexions; nor any more be moleſted with addreſſes, remonſtrances, and petitions; for no excluded party, if

my ſcheme was eſtabliſhed, would ever addreſs to remove an adminiſtration, which, like a butterfly, could ſurvive but one ſeaſon; none would remonſtrate againſt grievances, which, by their acquiſition of places would all be very ſoon redreſſed; nor petition to diſſolve a parliament, which will probably fall ready made into their own hands in the courſe of a few months.

From miniſters in poſſeſſion only I expect objections; but, if they would conſider how greatly this ſcheme will contribute to their own eaſe and advantage, objects to which they uſually pay ſome regard, they cannot, I think, refuſe it their concurrence: for whenever they ſhall be ſo fortunate as by this means to get into power, they will be ſure to keep it for a whole twelve-month; and not only keep it, but keep it unmoleſted by all oppoſition: for, when power is thus placed in the hands of Fortune, ſhe alone can be blamed for the unſucceſsful efforts

of ambition, and the diſappointment of men's own imaginary merit. This will exempt all miniſters from the moſt diſagreeable embarraſſments of their office; they will no longer be obliged to neglect their ſupporters, and promote their adverſaries, nor to reward every one in proportion as they abuſe them; a conduct, which though habit, I know, renders leſs painful than might be imagined; yet muſt ever be inconvenient, becauſe it cannot fail to create new adverſaries, and new abuſes. They will no longer be dependent on the caprice of a miſtreſs or a favourite, nor even on the will of their ſovereign himſelf; nor will they be diſtreſſed, if they ſhould be ſo uncommonly unfortunate, as to have to deal with a prince, who has not one vice, attachment, or prejudice by the indulgence of which he can be either purchaſed or controuled. They will no longer be obliged to court the humours, or ſatisfy the demands of an inſatiable parliament; nor

reduced to the humiliating neceſſity of frequent applications to recruit the revenues of the civil liſt, exhauſted by corrupting men to be honeſt, and paying them for that ſupport to government, for which their own intereſt and duty ought to have been ſufficient inducements; and whenever they are diſplaced by this rotation, they can have no cauſe to be angry, and therefore cannot be tempted to diſgrace themſelves, by inliſting immediately into oppoſition, by unſaying all they have ſaid, undoing all they have done, defeating every meaſure which they had adopted, and ſacrificing their principles and characters to gratify their reſentments. As they will have little to promiſe, and leſs to beſtow, they will be little troubled with thoſe two worſt ſpecies of perſecutors, their friends, and their enemies; they will no longer be baited in ſenates, reviled in news-papers, and inſulted in the ſtreets; and both their promiſes and their windows will be leſs frequently

quently broken; in ſhort, they will oftener be able to dine as regularly, to ſleep as quietly, and walk as ſecurely, as the moſt inſignificant man in the kingdom. I ſhall add but one other inducement to prevail on miniſters to agree to my propoſal; an inducement, which perhaps they may think too inconſiderable to be mentioned; which is this, that by it they will be placed in a ſituation, in which they may be capable of doing ſome ſervice to their country; in which they may enjoy leiſure and quiet, ſufficient to enable them to form and execute ſome plans for the regulation of our police, the re-eſtabliſhment of our government, and payment of our debts; all which, in their preſent ſtate of being pilloried and pelted, are utterly impracticable. If there ſhould be any in adminiſtration, who are ſkilled in, or fond of play, their patronage I may ſurely depend on, as my ſcheme will afford them a new and entertaining game, in which Fortune will be the diſpoſer of

all good things; a lady, with whom they have had ſo long an intimacy, and with whom they may be preſumed to have no inconſiderable intereſt.

To the oppoſition, I think, few arguments need be uſed, to perſuade them to ſupport a ſcheme ſo manifeſtly calculated for their advantage; which will immediately extricate them from a laborious and unprofitable ſituation, and give them an equal chance with others of acquiring the moſt honourable and profitable offices in the ſtate, of which at preſent they ſeem to have no chance at all. Whenever they ſhall be ſo lucky, as to be elected by this means into power, they will then enjoy all the benefits which I have juſt now enumerated, in the ſituation of miniſters; and whenever they ſhall be unfortunately excluded, their condition even then will be much preferable to their preſent; for they will be delivered from the troubleſome and barren occupation of fruitleſs oppoſition, which will then exiſt no more: they will therefore no longer be obliged to toil and ſweat,

ſweat, whole days and nights, in ſupporting queſtions, which they diſapprove: and motions, which they neither expect nor wiſh to carry; they will no more be obliged to expend their own fortunes in forming clubs, cementing factions, fomenting tumults, and purchaſing petitions, on the bare poſſibility of being ſome time or other reimburſed by the public. They will no longer be compelled to deceive the people, whoſe intereſts they regard; to debaſe the character, and abandon the privileges of both houſes of parliament, of which they are members: or to inſult the Sovereign, whom they love and honour, and whoſe favour is their principal purſuit; nor, if all theſe ſhould fail, to call in a patriotic plague, famine, or war, to their aſſiſtance: this conduct, I know, is ſtrictly juſtifiable, from neceſſity, and fidelity to connections, and warranted by precedents innumerable and immemorial; but yet, on reflexion, muſt certainly be diſagreeable to honeſt and ingenuous minds.

Beſides

Beſides an exemption from theſe Herculean labours, they will acquire, even during their excluſion, no inconſiderable pecuniary advantage; for the reverſionary chance of a lucrative place in the choice of next year will fetch no contemptible ſum in the preſent; and I doubt not, as ſoon as my ſcheme ſhall be eſtabliſhed, will be as exactly calculated, and as readily done at Jonathan's, as a Lottery Ticket, or Bank or India Stock, for the opening.

Let us now ſee how this my ſcheme will affect the nation. And here I diſcern a moſt agreeable proſpect; for I ſee an end to all parliamentary conteſts, the offspring of ſelf-intereſt, and parent of corruption; and with it an end to all thoſe factions and diſcontents, thoſe miſconducts and misfortunes, which have divided and diſtreſſed this country for above half a century:

"*Hâc fonte derivata clades*
"*In patriam populumque fluxit.*"

From

From this impure ſource they have all proceeded; from this has every calamity iſſued, that has overflowed the land: it was this that produced a Spaniſh war in the year 1739, which produced a French war, which after a ſhort peace produced another French, another Spaniſh, a German, and American war; theſe produced a national debt of one hundred and fifty millions, with innumerable and never-ceaſing taxes to defray their intereſt; theſe have produced loans, jobbs, contracts, and all manner of plunder; theſe have produced private riches and public poverty, which have produced high price of proviſions, dearneſs of labour, complaints of manufacturers, luxury and idleneſs, riots, and tumults, with all thoſe numerous grievances, which the nation really feels, or fancies that ſhe feels, from her preſent nervous diſpoſition.

All theſe, I queſtion not, will be prevented in future by my propoſal; to which I have never heard any objections, except

except the two following, which I ſhall endeavour to anſwer.

Firſt, that theſe annual changes in adminiſtration will occaſion ſuch continual changes in meaſures, that no ſyſtem, foreign or domeſtic, could be purſued with ſteadineſs and effect. To this I reply, that, under the preſent mode of government, this muſt certainly be the conſequence of ſuch frequent changes; but, under the regulations of my ſcheme, they will have no ſuch operations; becauſe the new miniſtry, being introduced without conteſt, will be under no neceſſity of counteracting every meaſure which had been adopted by the old: they will not be mortgaged to old connexions and old animoſities, nor embarraſſed by old principles and old profeſſions; and therefore they will not be obliged in honour to involve the nation in a war, becauſe the laſt miniſtry had concluded a peace; nor to relinquiſh taxes of which they might avail themſelves, becauſe they had formerly

ly voted againſt them; nor to wink at libels, and indulge riots, becauſe they had once been uſeful; nor to ruin themſelves by the ſame arts by which they had ruined their predeceſſors, to prove the conſiſtency of their conduct. This rotation of miniſters will therefore be ſo far from changing ſyſtems, that it will contribute very much to continue them: for, if any one adminiſtration ſhould happen to fix upon any one ſyſtem, the reſt, having no inducement to alter it, will probably purſue it in preference to the trouble of finding out another. But if the worſt ſhould happen, and no ſyſtem at all be purſued, the nation perhaps might not ſuffer ſo much as may be imagined; for what ſyſtem can we remember to have been ever ſtrictly adhered to in this country, except this, that oppoſition ſhould do miſchief, and miniſters embarraſſed by a perpetual warfare do nothing? and yet under this we have conſtantly gone on improving,

improving in wealth, trade, liberty, power, and proſperity, to this hour.

The other is, that if all oppoſition is by this ſcheme put an end to, there will remain no check upon evil miniſters, and the people will be left a defenceleſs prey to their tyranny and rapacity. This, indeed, is a formidable objection; and ſo tenacious am I of the liberties of the people, and ſo jealous of the encroachments of miniſterial power, that, if I thought my propoſal would be attended with conſequences ſo fatal, I would inſtantly abandon it, in ſpite of all the parental fondneſs of a projector. But of this I cannot entertain the leaſt apprehenſions; for although it will deſtroy all oppoſition in parliament, where it is ſeldom honeſt, and always hurtful; yet it will leave it in full vigour amongſt the people, where it is often honeſt, and ſeldom injurious to the public: enough of it will remain in the hearts and mouths of common-council-men, liverymen,

men, and freeholders, to watch over the conduct of miniſters; here is its native ſoil, and here it ought always to be cultivated: but whenever it takes root amongſt the great, whenever it ſhoots up into courts, councils, and ſenates, it ſoon degenerates into ſelfiſh and angry factions, who, under a pretended zeal for the welfare of the public, are contending only who ſhall firſt ſacrifice it to the mean ends of private ambition or avarice; for true Engliſh oppoſition to government is like that reſpectable animal the true Engliſh maſtiff, who, when permitted to prowl and roar about the yards and out-houſes, is a faithful, honeſt, and intrepid guardian; but, if admitted into the drawing-room, becomes a very offenfive and a very dangerous viſitor.

And here, by the bye, I cannot but applaud the honeſt ſagacity of that honourable ſociety, the Supporters of the Bill of Rights, who have declared eternal war with all great men, eſteeming them dange-

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rous coadjutors in the cauſe of liberty, and wiſely concluding, that it is impoſſible that perſons poſſeſſed of exalted titles, vaſt property, and extenſive power, ſhould ever be in earneſt, in endeavouring to deſtroy their own ſuperiority, and the ſubordination of others.

Much more might be urged in favour of my ſcheme; but I ſhall leave it to its own apparent merits for ſucceſs, and ſhall now conclude with this ſingle caution to my readers, not to imagine that there is any thing in the foregoing pages in the leaſt degree ludicrous; a caution which I think not altogether unneceſſary, from frequently obſerving, that plain truths, conciſely expreſſed, and brought home to mens minds, are apt to ſtrike on the very ſame chords in the human brain, which are peculiarly appropriated to wit and humour, and are therefore often miſtaken for them: for which reaſon, I forewarn all who ſhall peruſe this ſhort eſſay, againſt falling into this common error; and aſſure

them,

them, that, in theſe conſiderations on this ſerious ſubject, not any wit, nor any humour except good-humour, is, or was ever intended to be, admitted; nor is the leaſt reflection deſigned on the conduct of any man, or ſet of men whatever: my ſcheme is ſolely founded on conjecture, ariſing from the known principles of human nature, which concludes that men will act in ſuch a manner, in ſuch circumſtances, and ſuch ſituations. It is not here aſſerted that any have ſo acted in ſuch ſituations; but only ſuppoſed, that the generality of mankind eternally will.

THOUGHTS

ON THE

NATIONAL DEBT.

NOtwithſtanding the practice of funding has prevailed in this country for a century, the nature and effects of a debt by this means contracted ſeem yet to be very imperfectly underſtood. The miniſters who have contracted it have always been ſatisfied with procuring what money they wanted on the beſt terms they could for the public, and have thought little of its conſequences, but have left them to the deciſion of time, accidents, and future adminiſtrations: the ableſt financiers have widely differed in their opinions concerning its nature and effects; ſome have conſidered it as a perſo-

nal debt, his ſhare of which every individual of which the public is compoſed is obliged to diſcharge; others have looked upon it as a mortgage on all the landed property of the nation, and have computed the poſſible extenſion and duration in proportion to its approach to the ultimate value of that property; and hence as many æras have been fixed for the diſſolution of the funds as for the end of the world; but happily the political and theological prophets have been equally miſtaken.

A few have viewed it with leſs terrible apprehenſions, and a very few indeed have ventured, in contradiction to the univerſal ſenſe of mankind, to aſſert, that it is the ſource of all our wealth, power, and proſperity.

From hence ſo many abſurdities, miſtakes, and miſrepreſentations are daily propagated, both in writings and converſation, concerning the nature and effects of the national debt, that I cannot forbear

bear putting together a few plain thoughts on a ſubject which has been ſo much diſcuſſed and ſo little underſtood. I pretend to no abilities in financiering, and therefore ſhall not, like moſt of my predeceſſors, adorn my pages with long rows of figures, or puzzle my reader and myſelf with intricate calculations, but endeavour, as conciſely as poſſible, to explain the nature and effects of this debt in a manner agreeable to the dictates of reaſon and common ſenſe.

What has led moſt of thoſe who have employed their thoughts and pens on this ſubject into errors is this: They have conſtantly conſidered this national debt as ſimilar to a debt contracted between two private individuals, to which it bears not the leaſt reſemblance; the private debtor is obliged to pay his creditor, if his effects are ſufficient for that purpoſe; the public are under no obligation to pay theirs, becauſe they originally granted

them no more than a perpetual and tranſferrable annuity: the principal of a private debt is ſecured by law, though the intereſt cannot always be got without much difficulty and delay; the intereſt of the public debt is punctually diſcharged, but the principal cannot be demanded or obtained by any other means than by tranſferring it to another perſon for whatever price he ſhall be willing to give; the private debtor is poor in proportion to his debt, but the public is enriched by whatever it owes; the private debtor would be rich if his debts were diſcharged, but the nation would be impoveriſhed if hers were paid off. This much more reſembles a debt which a man might contract with himſelf, by borrowing out of one pocket and lending to another; but even from this it widely differs, becauſe, by ſuch a traffic, a man could be neither richer or poorer; though he could not be ruined, he could never be a gainer; where-

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as the nation, by borrowing too much, may poſſibly become a bankrupt; but in the mean time is inconceivably enriched.

All foreign nations, as well as ourſelves, have long been aſtoniſhed to ſee this country, not only ſupporting her credit, but encreaſing every year in wealth, commerce, population, luxury, and magnificence, during the whole accumulation of this enormous debt. But I am perſuaded, that if the nature and effects of it were clearly and properly underſtood, the miracle would ceaſe, and it would evidently appear, that all theſe improvements and acquiſitions are principally derived from the debt itſelf; and to prove this, I will begin by tracing the effects and conſequences of one million thus borrowed by government, by which thoſe of any greater number will become viſible in their due proportion.

We will ſuppoſe then, that adminiſtration find it neceſſary to fit out, man, and victual a fleet, to defray the expence

of which one million will be wanting; the public is obliged to borrow this ſum, and the ſeveral individuals, of whom that public is compoſed, are ready to lend it; ſo that here the public acts under a double character, that is, of a debtor and a creditor at the ſame time; as a body corporate ſhe borrows, and as a ſociety of individuals ſhe lends; that is, in fact, ſhe borrows of herſelf. A loan is now opened for this ſum at the rate of five per cent. and parliament propoſes taxes to defray the annual intereſt of fifty thouſand pounds. This is immediately filled, and the whole money paid into the Treaſury, from whence it is ſoon iſſued out to pay the ſailors, and the various tradeſmen and artificers who are employed in the undertaking, the ſhipwright, the carpenter, the blackſmiths, the ſail-makers, the painters, the caulkers, and the rope-makers, to which muſt be added the brewers, the bakers, the farmer, and the grazier, with all thoſe by whom proviſions

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are produced or prepared. Theſe ſoon diffuſe it through all the occupations and profeſſions, the moſt remote from the original purpoſe for which it was borrowed, in which beneficial diſtribution they are not a little aſſiſted by the patriotic ſpirit of their wives and daughters, who take care that milliners, mantua-makers, ribbon-weavers, hair-dreſſers, dancing-maſters, and fidlers, ſhall have their ſhare; and thus the whole million quickly returns back to the public, that is, to the individuals who compoſe it. The public, therefore, cannot be the poorer for this loan, neither as the debtor or a creditor; as a debtor ſhe can loſe nothing, becauſe the whole intereſt of the debt is paid for her by a new tax, and as a creditor ſhe is a great gainer, becauſe the principal is ſoon refunded, and yet ſhe continues to receive the intereſt, which is therefore a clear acquiſition of fifty thouſand pounds a year.

But perhaps it may be aſked, from whence

whence comes this fifty thouſand pounds a year? I anſwer, certainly from the ſame public who annually pay it, under the name of taxes, and receive it again under the denomination of intereſt. It does not, indeed, always return into the ſame pockets from whence it was extracted, and therefore ſome individuals in particular ſituations muſt be ſufferers; but the nation at large can never be impoveriſhed by a debt of this kind, to whatever extent it might be carried. It is a mill which may be for ever worked with the ſame ſtream of wealth, without any diminution, provided no part of it is diverted into a foreign channel, from whence it returns no more. Some of it is ſo diverted to pay intereſt to thoſe foreigners who have depoſited their money in our funds; but even by this we can be no loſers, as we are in poſſeſſion of their principal, which we ſhall never repay, the uſe of which is of much greater value than the intereſt.

Thus

Thus far it has been clearly proved, that the wealth of this country cannot be in the leaſt impaired by the debt; but on further examination it will appear as clearly, that it is greatly increaſed, and that our preſent unexampled opulence is principally derived from this ſource which it cauſes, by enabling us to circulate ſuch prodigious ſums as the principal and intereſt of our enormous debt. The circulation of money is money, and ſo much, that it cannot be computed by any calculation. We every day ſee bankers living not only in affluence but magnificence, building palaces and purchaſing eſtates, by the ſole profits of capitals very inconſiderable continually circulated, and ſome by circulating the wealth of others, without any capital at all. A few thouſand pounds diffuſed through the various occupations and profeſſions of a ſmall town will maintain all the families of which it is compoſed better than the ſame ſum would ſupport one family if it remained unemployed

unemployed in the hands of a ſingle perſon. The butcher and the baker feed the taylor and the draper, who clothes them in return; the farmer employs the carpenter, the bricklayer, and the labourer, and they aſſiſt him by conſuming part of his crop; the parſon maintains a wife and ſix children, and the attorney builds a houſe and buys land, and they are all paid in their turns by the perpetual rotation of the ſame money. If, then, the circulating a ſmall ſum within ſuch narrow limits can do all this, what will not the circulation of ſo many millions be able to effect in the hands of a great and powerful nation, when employed in improving commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, and the extenſion of plunder and rapine over the moſt remote regions of the globe?

There is, beſides, one circumſtance which has greatly contributed to ſupport us under this vaſt load of debt and accumulation of intereſt, which has been little if at all obſerved, though well worthy of

obſervation; which, therefore, I ſhall endeavour to explain. The principal of this debt cannot be demanded, and will never be repaid, and for that reaſon cannot materially affect us. The intereſt, which muſt be punctually diſcharged every year, is the only load under which we labour, but the preſſure of this is greatly alleviated by its own conſequences and operations, as thus: — For every million borrowed by government at five per cent. an intereſt is annually paid of fifty thouſand pounds; this is every year received by the creditors, and expended by them in purchaſing all the neceſſaries, conveniencies, and luxuries of life, which are all heavily taxed; by this income they are enabled to build houſes, to keep coaches, ſervants, and horſes, and are conſequently obliged to pay the houſe tax, the window tax, the coach tax, the ſervants tax, and the horſe tax; by this they are enabled to conſume larger quantities of wine, beer, tea, brandy, coals, ſoap, and candles,

candles, with innumerable other articles, ſome of which pay duties equal, and ſome ſuperior to their original values. This brings into the treaſury a new and additional income, perhaps nearly ſufficient to diſcharge the intereſt of the new loan, which never could have come in if this million had never been borrowed.

But it may be ſaid, if the proprietors of theſe loans pay annually as much in taxes as they receive in intereſt, how are they richer, or able to expend more money on theſe various articles than they would be if they neither paid the one or received the other, and there were no debt, taxes, or intereſt at all? I anſwer, beauſe if there were none, no ſuch quantity of money as they now poſſeſs would exiſt, and conſequently they could not expend it. It is theſe and the circulation of them that create this wealth, which, though fictitious, anſwers all the purpoſes of real caſh, and is therefore of equal value. Our debt is in fact our riches, the

greater it is the more we can expend, and the more we owe, the eaſier we find it to borrow, becauſe there is more to be lent. However paradoxical theſe propoſitions may ſeem, they are undoubtedly true, and are confirmed by long practice and daily experience, the ſureſt guides in political inquiries.

To be ſatisfied of their truth, we need only look back on the pecuniary ſtate of this country before the commencement of our national debt, and we ſhall ſee that, compared with our preſent ſuperabundant opulence, there was no money, and that our power, grandeur, and riches have gradually increaſed in proportion to the intereſt of that debt, which puts me in mind of what one Iriſhman ſaid of another, that once he knew him a poor fellow with ſcarce a coat to his back, though he was now grown a great rich man, and owed ten thouſand pounds. As there was then but very little property except land, the landed gentleman was much richer, that is, ſtood higher

higher in the ſcale of comparative riches than he ſtands at preſent; but he had no money, nor wanted much; he lived upon the productions of his own eſtate, in a plentiful but ſlovenly hoſpitality. If once in half a year the hard hands of his tenants brought him a few guineas, they were all owing long before they came, and the carpenter, the bricklayer, the taylor, and the ſhopkeeper were all waiting in the hall for their arrival, anxious to ſeize them before they eſcaped. He ſeldom went farther from home than to a club or a ſeſſions, and then he was obliged to take up half a guinea, on account of rent, to defray his expences. If a Scotch pedlar came into the yard, the whole family were in as great an uproar as the dogs, ſurveyed the contents of his opened pack with longing eyes, but could not raiſe caſh amongſt them ſufficient to purchaſe a dozen or two of pocket handkerchiefs, or a few ſmocks for the miſſes. A ſilk gown never ſaw day-light except on Sundays.

days. The High Sheriff's laced waiſt-coat was preſerved amongſt the family archives, and the wedding coach wheeled ſlowly through the dirt for three generations. A ſcarcity of money was viſible over the whole face of the country; the waſtes were uncultivated, the marſhes undrained, the roads almoſt impaſſable, and the conveyances tedious and uncomfortable. The metropolis, compared with the preſent, was of ſmall extent; the ſtreets were narrow, ill paved, ill lighted, few coaches or chairs, few places of public amuſement, no bankers ſhops, except of working goldſmiths, and, had there been any, no caſh to be depoſited in them. None but ſome of the firſt nobility had houſes; the country gentleman ſeldom or never came to town, unleſs he was ſent a repreſentative to parliament, and then in the ſtage coach, unaccompanied by his wife and family, to a lodging up three pair of ſtairs in ſome obſcure ſtreet, for want of

money to procure a better; and the miniſter had none to give him.

Let us now take a view of the aſtoniſhing contraſt of our preſent opulence and luxury, which has gradually grown up and kept pace with our debt. The landed gentleman, fitted by education for ſome honourable and lucrative profeſſion, is no longer to be found amidſt the dirt and penury of the country, but appears with affluence and dignity in the character of a general or admiral, a judge or a biſhop; our commerce is extended, and our manufactures improved; our lands are better cultivated, and our people in every rank of life better fed, clothed, and lodged, than in any former period. Our roads throughout every part of the kingdom are gravel walks, furniſhed with carriages and poſt horſes at every ſtage always ready to receive travellers, who are always ready to fill them, and have money in their pockets ſufficient to pay them. Our inns are palaces, in which we are ſure to find a variety

ety of wines and proviſions of the beſt kinds, beds and ſophas, plate, linen, china, with every elegant accommodation promiſed by their external appearance; even thoſe of inferior rank are not deficient in every convenience and comfort; have a ſcreen, a carpet, and a mahogany table in every room, and good fowls and mutton in the larder. Our metropolis has ſpread itſelf over ſome thouſands of acres, covered with wide ſtreets and ſpacious ſquares, adorned with churches, palaces, hoſpitals, and bridges; ſtreets, courts, and alleys, are full of ſhops, theſe ſhops full of cuſtomers, and theſe cuſtomers full of money. Plays, operas, oratorios, and concerts, are exhibited every night, and all to audiences ſo crowded, that multitudes are turned back with half guineas in their hands, unable to obtain admiſſion. Thouſands are collected from the idle and extravagant for ſeeing dogs, horſes, men, and monkies perform feats of activity, and, in ſome places, for the

privilege only of ſeeing one another. Players, ſingers, and muſicians are rewarded with a ridiculous profuſion; an actor on the ſtage receives as much as one in the ſenate; and a fidler of the firſt eminence acquires as good an income as a lord of the treaſury. Our houſes are filled with the richeſt furniture, and adorned with pictures and ſtatues of the higheſt price; our ſideboards are covered with plate, our tables with delicacies, our ſervants with lace, and our wives with diamonds. All theſe infallible marks of riches have commenced and progreſſively increaſed with our debt, and are therefore undoubtedly derived from it. No ſmall part indeed of them have flowed in from the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; but theſe ought alſo to be placed to the ſame account; becauſe, without the aid of this fictitious wealth, we could never have ſo far extended our commerce or our conqueſts.

It may be ſaid, that, although we allow this

this fictitious wealth may have been of internal advantage to this country, this cannot give us any comparative ſuperiority over the other nations; becauſe they may all adopt the ſame method of creating riches, and receive from it the ſame benefits. I anſwer, it is not true; becauſe nations who lie under the preſſure of a deſpotic government, and have little commerce, cannot borrow money on the ſame terms, nor acquire the ſame profit by the circulation of it if they could. For inſtance, we ſee the German ſtates do not and cannot contract any conſiderable debts, becauſe their own ſubjects have no money to lend, and foreigners will not place their property in funds, where their ſecurity may be annihilated in a moment by the miſconduct of a miniſter, or the edict of a prince. The ſame reaſons operate in a proportional degree with regard to France, who, though vaſtly ſuperior to Great Britain in extent both of dominion and revenue, could not ſtand under

a debt of equal weight; and I am perſuaded that, at the preſent juncture, if compelled by a neceſſity, which I hope will never arrive, this country would be able to add as many millions to her debt as would throw France into a ſtate of univerſal bankruptcy and confuſion. The accumulation of our debt has obliged our neighbours to follow our example; to lay themſelves under the preſſure of equal loads, without equal abilities to ſuſtain them; and this, perhaps, is not one of the leaſt advantages which we have received from it. The truth of this is ſufficiently confirmed by a late very memorable event, which is our American war, on the conſequences of which, both ourſelves and our enemies were fully perſuaded that the commerce, the wealth, the credit, and the very exiſtence of this country depended.

France, therefore, thought no expence too great, which would involve us in the conteſt, and procure our defeat. This, with the unremitted aſſiſtance of Engliſh

Engliſh patriotiſm, ſhe at length accompliſhed; but what was the conſequence? why the very reverſe of what our enemies hoped for and we apprehended; our commerce is not leſs, our wealth is greater, and our credit better than they were before the commencement of that war. We are enriched both by the conteſt and by the loſs of that for which we contended; by the firſt, becauſe by that our debt is augmented, which has been proved to be our riches; and by the latter, as by that no inconſiderable ſums are retained, and circulated at home, which would otherwiſe have been annually exported to defray the uſeleſs expences of American jobs. On the contrary, France is ſo exhauſted, that ſhe has been obliged to abandon the purſuits of conqueſt and dominion, and ſuffer them to be wreſted even out of her jaws without a ſtruggle; beſides which, her people by their tranſatlantick connections have catched ſuch an idea for liberty as will not eaſily be eradicated

without the loſs of more blood than the preſent ſtate of her conſtitution is able to bear.

But have not theſe numerous benefits been introductive of ſome evils? Certainly of many, both of a private and a public nature. The increaſe of money, whether real or fictitious, muſt diminiſh its value, and conſequently augment *the* price of all the neceſſaries of life. This no laws or regulations of police can prevent. The circulation of bank notes muſt advance the price of bread, and the arrival of a dozen or two of Nabobs will make beef and mutton dear in every market. By this all ranks and denominations of men are greatly though not equally affected; the landed man and the day-labourer are the greateſt ſufferers, becauſe the firſt cannot raiſe the price of his land, nor the latter of his labour, faſt enough to keep pace with the decreaſe in the value of money; they both muſt riſe, but they are always behind hand. By this, likewiſe,

likewiſe, the nation muſt ſuffer not a little; becauſe the advanced price of proviſions advances the wages of manufacturers, and conſequently the price of her manufactures, which enables rival nations to underſell her; but this is of little conſequence, if compared with the multitude of evils which an extraordinary influx of wealth never fails to introduce. It is like the overflowings of the Nile, which, whilſt they produce fertility and plenty, engender the moſt fatal diſeaſes and the moſt noxious animals.

Plenty of money not only depreciates the value, but lowers the eſtimation of it to a greater degree than the value. We now part with half a guinea for an opera or a concert with leſs reluctance than our fathers took leave of half a crown; a beggar in the ſtreet will not thank you for halfpence, nor the meaneſt waiter at an inn for leſs than a ſhilling. This diſregard to money, and preference given to any gratification, amuſement, or purſuit,

prevails through all ranks and conditions of life, and the effects of it are but too viſible on this country, into which it has introduced with it ſuch an inundation of idleneſs, diſſipation, luxury, vanity, profuſion, and profligacy of every kind, amongſt all ranks, from the higheſt to the loweſt of our people, as has nearly deſtroyed all government and ſubordination, and has filled our gazettes with bankruptcies, our ſtreets with beggars, our gaols with criminals, our coaſts with ſmugglers, our capital with riots, and our parliament with faction. The ableſt financiers declared it as their opinion, above half a century ago, that the credit of this country might very well bear a debt of about forty or fifty millions, but that more than one hundred it could not ſuſtain; and perhaps they might have been right, had not the additional revenue ariſing from every new loan in a great meaſure diſcharged the additional intereſt, a circumſtance of which they were not aware; but time and

experience

experience has long ſince proved, that they were fortunately miſtaken, as it now ſubſiſts, with unimpaired vigour, under a load of almoſt three times that magnitude. How much higher this ſtupendous fabric of fictitious wealth might be raiſed, no one can determine, and it would be exceedingly unwiſe to try, becauſe the event muſt be fatal, whether it ſucceeded or failed; if it advanced, it muſt make us giddy with inſolence and luxury, and if it fell it muſt overwhelm us in its ruins. It is high time, therefore, not only to put a ſtop to its further progreſs, but to retrench it as ſoon, yet as gently as we can; for which purpoſe I think no plan more efficacious can be deviſed than that already begun, which is, to appropriate every year one million of public money to the diſcharge of the debt. This, if ſtrictly adhered to, by annually ſinking both principal and intereſt, in proceſs of time will perform a great deal, and is the more eligible for being ſlow and gradual in its operations; for was it poſſible to pay off the whole

debt at once, the effects would be exactly the ſame as if it was not paid at all; a ſudden diſcharge and a ſudden bankruptcy would be the ſame, that is, they would equally involve us in univerſal confuſion and diſtreſs. As caſh is the only medium by which the public creditor could be paid, we will ſuppoſe for a moment, that a ſum of three hundred millions in gold and ſilver is dug out of the mines in Cornwall, or the coal pits of Newcaſtle, that it is refined, coined, and ſent into the treaſury, and all the creditors called upon to receive principal and intereſt, which they accept, becauſe they have no right to refuſe. What then would enſue? We ſhould ſee multitudes ſtaggering under loads of caſh, which they could not carry away; many fetching it in wheel-barrows, ſome in carts, and a few in waggons, and filling warehouſes, granaries, and barns with innumerable buſhels of uſeleſs guineas; uſeleſs indeed, for to what uſe could they be applied? they could not be placed in public funds, becauſe, if there was no debt

there

there could be no funds; they could not be laid out in land, becauſe no man would part with land, the produce of which would maintain himſelf and his family, for money which would produce nothing; it could not be lent on mortgage for the ſame reaſon; and it could not even purchaſe the neceſſaries of life, becauſe no one would ſell a loaf or a leg of mutton which he could eat, for gold and ſilver which he could not ſwallow. We might, indeed, like the Mexicans, when firſt diſcovered, cover our houſes and ſhoe our horſes with theſe precious metals; but ſuperfluity would deſtroy their value, and lead and iron would be more eſteemed, becauſe of more general uſe.

The ſcheme propoſed will prevent theſe inconveniences, and pare away inſenſibly every year ſome part of this unwieldy debt, without diſtreſſing the public or injuring the creditors; the public will be gradually exonerated, and the creditors can have no reaſon to complain, becauſe they are under no compulſion to part with

with their ſtock; and if they chuſe to ſell it, there is no difference to them whether government or private individuals purchaſe it at a market price. This method of paying off the debt is in fact no more than every year withdrawing a certain portion of it out of circulation, by which means it is totally annihilated; for as when bought in by government the intereſt ceaſes, and no principal ever exiſted, nothing remains, and therefore it becomes abſolutely nothing.

This fictitious wealth in the political, is exactly ſimilar to blood in the animal body; ſo long as they continue to circulate they give life and health, beauty, ſtrength, and ſpirit; but as ſoon as the circulation ſtops, the one ceaſes to be wealth, and the other blood. All theſe millions in funds and loans, in principal and intereſt, in Bank, South Sea, and India Stock, in Bank Notes, Exchequer Bills, in Long and Short Annuities, and Lottery Tickets, ſo long as they are kept alive and in motion, are as good to all intents and purpoſes

purpoſes as gold and ſilver; they beſtow palaces, parks, and gardens, plate and jewels, ſervants and equipages; they procure titles and honours, ſeats in the Houſe of Commons, and peerages in the Houſe of Lords, and majorities in both. Whilſt they laſt, all theſe benefits, powers, and privileges they confer on their poſſeſſors, in whoſe hands they are a certain and ſubſtantial income; in the hands of a miniſter, like the broad pieces toſſed about by a juggler, they are here and there, in your pockets, in mine, or in his own, and then by a ſingle manœuvre, are no where at all, but vaniſh like the baſeleſs fabric of a viſion. This is called paying off, and ſo it is, for a debt annihilated is paid. I am not very apprehenſive that the progreſs of this ſcheme will be too rapid, conſidering the numerous interruptions it will probably meet with, or that it will diſcharge too great a part of our debt; but if it ſhould ever go ſo far as even to pay off one hundred millions, I will venture to foretell, that the diminution of our riches will be